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The New York Times
William Safire on Helsinki hopes
 8-page pullout

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Erekat denies secret talks

By APRIE O'SULLIVAN

Saab Erekat, head of the Palestinian steering committee overseeing the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, denied yesterday that there were any secret talks going on in an attempt to reduce tensions and achieve some kind of compromise on Har Homa.

"There is no dialogue between Israel and the Palestinians and there can be no dialogue unless [Prime Minister Benjamin] Netanyahu reverses his decision to begin work at Har Homa," Erekat told him.

Meanwhile, the IDF and police have moved to meet any Palestinian unrest in the territories over the construction of Har Homa with an iron fist, rushing troops to the West Bank to prevent any outbreak of violence.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai called on the Palestinians to refrain from violence and avoid needless conflict with the IDF. Mordechai convened top security officials in his Jerusalem office prior to King Hussein's visit yesterday to consolidate and review the measures ordered.

Mordechai had told the cabinet on Friday that he does not believe there will be any violence, but the government is not taking any chances and has ordered the reinforcements.

Meeting in Mordechai's office

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King Hussein and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu pay a condolence call yesterday at the Beit Shemesh home of the Fathi family, whose daughter Sivan was one of the schoolgirls murdered by a Jordanian soldier Thursday. (AP)

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

Hussein visit shows strength of peace with Jordan

By HERS KEINON

Jordan's King Hussein came to us yesterday like a distant relative who manages to visit every once in a while for a funeral. The gesture of the visit is greatly appreciated, but something is missing.

The relatives burying their dead can be heard whispering, "Why doesn't he ever come on a happy occasion, or even just to visit? Why does he wait so long?"

Since the peace accord was signed with Jordan in 1994, Hussein has publicly visited four times. Once for Yitzhak Rabin's funeral, once to dedicate a trauma center named after Rabin at Tel Aviv's Ichilov Hospital, and now for the shiva call. One time, soon after the signing, he did come just to say hello.

"I appreciate his visit," said Beit Shemesh shopkeeper Gregory Ya'acov, whose store was on one of the streets closed down because it was on the king's route. "I just wish he could come once for a celebration."

A handful of Beit Shemesh residents stood outside the house of Adi Malka, the king's first stop in the town, to catch a glimpse of the king, even to pay him homage. Had Hussein come under better circumstances, it is likely that the empty streets — despite the rain — would have been full of people standing under Jordanian and Israeli flags, throwing rice and flowers.

Israel likes the king, despite all the ups and downs. Hussein, with gestures such as those he made yesterday, has charmed the country. It is to Hussein's infinite credit that he used the horror at Naharayim as a way to try and patch up relations that were severely soured last week.

His visit to the bereaved, his shiva call, was both unprecedented and poignant. Watching him kneel in the homes and — in his resonant, empathetic, royal

voice — offer his condolences did have a balm-like effect, if not on the families suffering beyond comfort, then at least on much of the nation.

"Words cannot express how I personally feel, how my family feels, how my people feel. We consider this a loss that all of us suffered," Hussein said in the Malka home, his words, delivered

"Words cannot express how I personally feel, how my family feels, how my people feel."

—King Hussein

slowly, swiftly translated into sign language for the grieving parents, who are both deaf.

"I feel that I have lost a child, and I feel that if there is anything in life, it is to ensure that all the children enjoy peace and security. I hope you consider me a brother and a member of the family."

When was the last time an Arab leader so mourned the victims of terror? Who would have dreamed a few years ago that such words would be uttered by the head of

an Arab state?

It is, likewise, to Israel's credit that the king was welcomed so openly, so warmly. It is difficult to imagine such a greeting had the shoe been on the other foot, had Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu needed to pay a condolence call on the families of Jordanian youths killed by an Israeli soldier.

Beit Shemesh, hot-blooded Beit Shemesh, known to many only as the place where Labor leader Shimon Peres was pelted with tomatoes during a campaign stop in the 1980s, greeted Hussein with restraint, with respect. This, even though the town of 25,000, many of whom are linked by family ties, was still in shock, still licking its wounds after the killing of the young girls.

That the king made the visit, and that the Israelis accepted him so readily, shows that the peace between Israelis and the Jordanian leadership has sunk deep roots.

"Sad, so sad," murmured Esther Afriati, watching in the rain as Hussein was hustled from his limousine into the Malka home. Her daughter is in the eighth-grade class at the AMIT Fuerst school that went to Naharayim, but because of financial constraints, didn't join the group.

"It is nice that he came; it does an aching heart good," she said. "Next time he should come for a happy event."

Gaza airport now open for Arafat

Hussein wins concession on visit

By DAVID MAKOVSKY and JON IMMANUEL

King Hussein's gesture of going house to house to visit the bereaved families in Beit Shemesh was met yesterday by a gesture from Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu: In response to a request from the king, the premier will allow Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat to fly in and out of the Dahaniya airport in Gaza.

Netanyahu and Arafat may meet in two days, Israel Radio quoted a senior Palestinian source as saying last night.

During his meeting with Netanyahu, Hussein arranged a phone call with Arafat. During the conversation it was agreed that Arafat could fly his plane in and out of Dahaniya without special permission. Until now his plane would take off from Egyptian territory.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai confirmed on Channel



King Hussein bows his head to the Israeli flag upon his arrival at Ben-Gurion Airport yesterday. (Reuters)

I that an arrangement for Arafat's flights could be made "within days." But he made no commitment to opening the airport to general Palestinian air traffic, which he said "depends on Palestinian

cooperation." According to a statement issued by the Prime Minister's Office last night, Arafat would now be per-

The Prince of Peace, Page 2
Hussein pays hospital visit to Weizman, Page 3

mitted to fly his plane out of Dahaniya, if he adheres to "security precautions" which apparently include checking the plane before departure and upon arrival.

"Jordan has provided itself to be an essential bridge between Israel and the Palestinian Authority," said Dore Gold, Netanyahu's foreign policy adviser. Hussein was also instrumental in helping clinch the Hebron accord.

The phone call "was a constructive conversation and I hope that the results will speak for themselves," Hussein said at a joint news conference with Netanyahu. But former Arafat spokesman Marwan Kanafani said Netanyahu's gesture is not significant. "The problem is not the airport or the seaport," he said. "This does not change the crisis atmosphere. Without addressing Har Homa and redeployment, which

Continued on Page 2

EU: No Albania force yet

News agencies

APELDOORN, Netherlands — European Union foreign ministers, struggling with the divisive question of whether to send troops into Albania, decided yesterday to send a high-level evaluation mission instead.

The ministers were dealing with a request by the Albanian government for troops to restore order and a suggestion by former Austrian chancellor Franz Vranitzky, who headed a team sent to Albania by the 34-nation Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, that Western Europe send in troops and police to quell the violence.

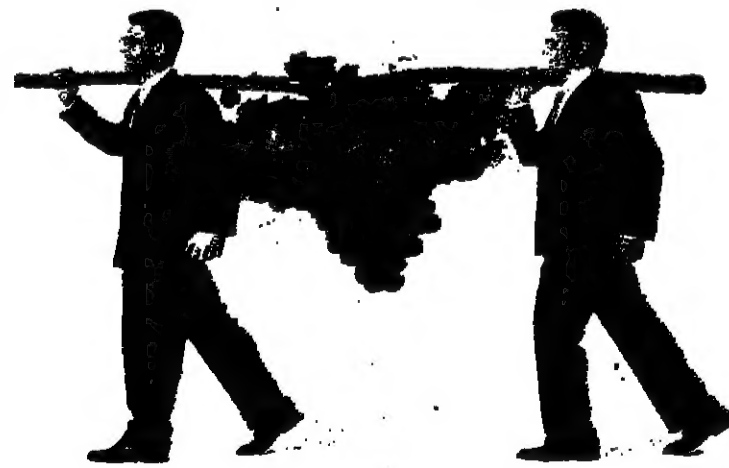
Severely splintered over the question, the 15-nation EU was able to agree only on a statement urging the Albanians to accept responsibility for rebuilding their own country and sending an urgent mission of representatives from the EU executive, the OSCE and Albania's EU neighbors. The mission will be in Tirana today and return tomorrow, officials said.

In Albania, US marines stormed out of helicopters onto Golem Beach south of Durres yesterday to rescue American, Turkish and Italian citizens.

In Tirana, 3,000 Albanians chanting "Peace, peace" gathered in the capital's central square as part of government attempts to restore order.

President Sali Berisha, facing

Continued on Page 2



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extend deepest condolences to
Drs. Ruth and Zvi Felde and the entire Mann family
on the profound loss of

Prof. KALMAN J. MANN ז"ל

May his memory be a blessing

On the first anniversary of the passing of my beloved
husband, our father and grandfather

R.H. GEFFNER ז"ל

we will visit his grave at 4 pm.
on Tuesday, March 18, 1997 (9 Adar II)
at the Kiryat Shaul Cemetery.
We will meet at the gate.

The Family

ANALYSIS

The Prince of Peace

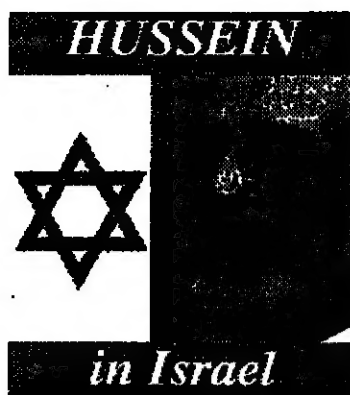
By DAVID MAKOVSKY

Jordan's King Hussein proved yesterday why so many Israelis view him as the "Prince of Peace."

He seems to be the only Arab leader in the region who demonstrates he favors an expansive definition of peace favored by Israel and yet unfulfilled, namely not just a political accommodation between states, but rather personal reconciliation between peoples.

Consoling bereaved families gives peace a human face, of which a hundred speeches at symposia or endless photo-ops, indeed, such actions only serve to underscore Hussein's sincerity when he makes clear that he wants to take bold steps for peace for posterity.

Beyond that, it seems that Hussein's actions are designed to create a new standard of peace, namely setting as its aim the alle-



viation of suffering of a single individual caught in the crossfire of an old conflict. The history of the region details governments, wars and even peace treaties, but in this part of the world, too little attention is paid to those families who bear the brunt of suffering.

One hopes that Hussein's condolence calls will reverberate around the region and maybe other leaders will emulate his

example. One cannot recall the last time Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak or Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat visited the bereaved families of the other side, who have been struck down by a terrorist or accident, for that matter.

However, Hussein set more than a humanitarian standard yesterday. Specifically, by helping reestablish phone contact between Netanyahu and Arafat, Hussein has demonstrated his own importance to Middle East peace-making.

Despite being a leader of a small buffer state, this is the second time - Hebron being the first - that he is seeking to bring Israelis and Palestinians together.

The lack of trust between Netanyahu and Arafat necessitates that there will have to be a third party go-between, and therefore, along with the US, Hussein's peace brokering is likely to continue for some time to come.

IDF

Continued from Page 1

yesterday were Deputy Chief of General Staff Maj.-Gen. Matan Vilna'i, General Security Service head Ami Ayalon, Coordinator of Government Activities in the Territories Maj.-Gen. Ya'acov Orr, OC Central Command Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan, OC Intelligence Maj.-Gen. Moshe Ya'alon, OC Planning Branch Maj.-Gen. Shaul Mofaz, the prime minister's adviser on fighting terrorism Meir Dagan, and senior police commanders from the Jerusalem and Judea and Samaria districts.

Mordechai told them that getting back to the negotiating table is the main objective, but that forces must be prepared for violence.

Central Command sources said that even though only surveyors - not bulldozers - are expected to begin work on Har Homa this week, IDF forces are being put on alert.

"There are no tanks, but reinforcements are being deployed in key areas. Soldiers have been briefed on open-fire regulations, and senior commanders have met with settlers to discuss their safety," said one source. "The

army is preparing for any and all scenarios."

The periodic beefing up of forces and unrest alerts in the Central Command has started to interfere with training. Some of the forces being readied have had to put their training on hold.

"But we are taking all the measures needed to meet any scenario. The events will certainly go up a step once bulldozers are on the ground, but there is a possibility that anything could trigger unrest, even surveyors," the Central Command source said.

Soldiers have been briefed on conclusions reached following the September riots, but IDF sources insist that open-fire orders have not been changed.

"We are preparing for the worst case, in which riots erupt in the territories after construction starts on Har Homa," Vilna'i was quoted as saying by Ha'aretz. "We see before our eyes the events of September 1996 and are deploying accordingly. We will not allow unrest or rioting in the territories, and if there is any, we shall react immediately and accordingly."

Vilna'i also said that such a massive show of force would deter the Palestinians.

ALBANIA

Continued from Page 1

mounting criticism since the collapse of shady investment schemes into which thousands of Albanians had poured their savings, defied demands from southern rebels that he should quit.

Celebratory gunfire erupted in the southern rebel stronghold of Gjirokastra when rumors that Berisha had quit circulated. The guns were fired again, in anger, when the resignation was officially denied.

Berisha announced that he had pardoned opposition leader Fatos Nano, who had been jailed in 1993 on corruption charges the opposition said were politically motivated. He has been mentioned as a possible new leader to unite Albania.

ARAFAT

Continued from Page 1

led to this situation, the crisis today is the same as the crisis yesterday."

There was no indication last night that talks on the final disposition of the territories would resume as scheduled today. The Palestinians have said they will boycott these talks until there is a reversal of the decision to build on Har Homa.

Kanafani said that Netanyahu's statement at the press conference that building at Har Homa would proceed means nothing has changed.

Sources close to Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat denied that he was planning a meeting with Yitzhak Molcho, Netanyahu's chief negotiator, last night.

Apart from the political issues, it was Hussein's personal act of visiting the mourning families which won the hearts of Israelis, demonstrating that - as he told the bereaved families in Beit Shemesh - "we are all one family."

In his condolence calls and in the press conference, Hussein decried the Naharayim shooting, and expressed "shame" that a Jordanian soldier would commit such a heinous act.

At their press conference, Hussein said he is committed to working with Netanyahu to further the peace process.

Netanyahu stressed the need for both Israelis and Palestinians to continue a dialogue, even when there are differences between them. Hussein seemed to agree that Israelis and Palestinians must talk.

"I am for direct talks by those parties involved so they can solve their own problems," he said. "Jordan can only provide a service."

But Hussein could not prevail upon Netanyahu to stop the building at Har Homa.

"I said that the bulldozers would start this week. They will start this week," Netanyahu declared at the press conference. "There is no change in our decision."

During the press conference, Hussein pledged to establish a "children's park" at Naharayim.

Bar-Ilan University

mourns the loss of its dear friend

ILSE MÖLLER FLOERSHEIM ז"ל

beloved mother of the late Michael, a devoted board member and philanthropist who established the university's Carl Alexander Floersheim Museum of Jewish Art in memory of his late father

and received a Bar-Ilan honorary doctorate in 1988.

The university expresses deepest sympathies to daughter-in-law Yonit Floersheim and grandson Alexander Floersheim

May you be comforted among the mourners of Zion and Jerusalem

On the occasion of the 20th yearzeit of the passing
of our beloved Rebbe

Rav PINKY BAK ז"ל

a memorial service will be held
at the Eretz Hachaim Cemetery, Beit Shemesh,
in the chapel, at 8 p.m.,
Thursday, March 20, 1997 (9 Adar II),
followed by an *aliyah lakever*.
Akiva Bak will be with us.

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IN BEIT SHEMESH**

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Shiri Badayev
Keren Cohen
Nirit Cohen
Sivan Fathi
Adi Malka
Ya'ala Me'iri**

יהי זכרן ברוך

We extend our
heartfelt condolences
to their families
and pray for a true
and everlasting peace in Israel.

המקום ינחם אתכם ואותנו
בתוך שאר אבלי ציון וירושלים



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deeply mourn the passing of our beloved friend

SHNEUR ZALMAN ABRAMOV

Dear Ayala, we are all with you in your sorrow.

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The Students, Faculty and Staff

mourn the loss of

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Dr. Michael L. Klein, Dean.

We deeply mourn the passing of our beloved

SHNEUR ZALMAN ABRAMOV

The funeral will take place on Tuesday, March 18, 1997,
leaving from the Sanhedria Funeral Home at 1 p.m.
and proceeding to the Mount of Olives Cemetery.

His wife, **Ayala Zacks-Abramov**
Brother, **Yitzhak and Shoshana Avrahami**
Daughter, **Carmela and Benjamin Kedem**
Daughter, **Edna and Ouri Dollar-Camar**
Son, **Hillel and Dana Abramov**
Grandchildren, **Edly, Calanit, Gilad, Shira, Liby**
Great-grandson, **Yoel**

The family will sit shiva at the home of the deceased in Jerusalem.

המקום ינחם אתכם ואותנו

Hussein pays visit to Weizman

By RAYNEVA TSUR

"Our legacy for all our children must be peace, security, and friendship — all the things that we, in our generation, have missed," King Hussein declared after embracing and kissing President Ezer Weizman in his hospital bed at Hadassah-University Hospital in Jerusalem's Ein Kerem.

"We have had a few days of real sorrow and national shame over this terrible crime," Hussein said. "I tried to express [to the bereaved families] that we shared that loss. Don't be surprised to see me here, that loss is very personal."

Weizman described the king's visit as "a brave and courageous act in these terrible circumstances."

He said that "we have to look for the positive side even in disaster... The king knelt before the people whose daughters were killed by his soldier. It is an important visit both from the humanitarian and the political points of view. I too will do everything possible to bring everyone closer."

Weizman then invited Hussein to pay another visit, under happier circumstances. "You see our country in sadness," he said. "I invite you to come and see us also when it is blooming and industrious."

Weizman, who was clearly in pain, nevertheless kept up his good spirits as his hospital bed was wheeled into a large room in the orthopedic ward, where carpets had been laid down to receive Hussein. It was soon far too small to contain all those who crowded in, including Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and other cabinet members. Reuma



Jordan's King Hussein and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu talk to President Ezer Weizman yesterday at Hadassah-University Hospital in Jerusalem's Ein Kerem.

Weizman, who accompanied Hussein all day, returned to join her husband at his bedside, where he had been tended by his daughter, Michal. "What are you doing in bed?" Hussein said jovially as he came towards Weizman.

"We are both pilots, but you flew here today and I am grounded," Weizman replied. Turning to Hussein's daughter, Princess Aisha, who was dressed in her Jordanian army uniform, Weizman said: "I watched you

admirably on my TV screen." Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai took the opportunity to invite Aisha and her brother, Prince Faisal, to visit as guests of the IDF. On the seventh floor, the atmosphere was less jovial. Hussein visit-

ed Yaffa Shmuel, one of the pupils seriously wounded in the Naharayim attack, and presented her with a pendant and gold *kamisa*. To her teacher, Yaffa Shukron, lying alongside her, Hussein extended an invitation to visit Jordan.

The king: Consider me one of the family

By ELI WOHLGELER

King Hussein of Jordan went to Beit Shemesh yesterday to pay a condolence call, in a strange combination of royal pomp and common prayer.

In a driving rain and surrounded by a covey of security men on the ground and in the air, Hussein knelt at the feet of the families of the seven schoolgirls gunned down by a Jordanian soldier last week, offering words of solace and prayers for peace.

"No words can ever express how I personally feel how my family feels, how my people feel," Hussein told the Malka family, whose daughter, Adi, was one of those killed.

"We consider this a loss that all of us suffered. I feel that I've lost a child, and... I hope you will consider me a brother and a member of the family."

His comments to the Malka family, his first stop in the town, were especially poignant, as Adi's parents are deaf. They spoke through a sign-language interpreter to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who then translated the Hebrew into English for the king.

Aliya Malka fainted when the king and Netanyahu, who accom-

panied Hussein on all his rounds, first sat before them. She was quickly revived.

Outside in the pouring rain, a few dozen residents stood hoping to catch a glimpse of the king. For the most part, they were receptive.

"There are mixed views," said Deborah Zwebner, a mother of an eighth-grade boy at the Furst School. "There are those who don't welcome it and don't feel this is the time, that it's too soon, that the wounds haven't healed."

"I feel it's a respectful gesture on his part. I give the king a lot of credit, because he knows that he could come here to possible negative feelings, and yet he still comes."

Zwebner said she had worked all morning at City Hall collating the e-mail messages that had poured in to the Beit Shemesh website, to give to Hussein, to Netanyahu, and to the families of the victims.

"We've received over 500 messages of condolence, and offers of help to contribute money toward a fund for the families," she said, adding that the letters had come from all over the world, including Sweden, Puerto Rico, New Zealand, Mexico, Jordan, Belgium, Panama, Costa Rica, and Venezuela.



Zwebner also had to deal with a problem affecting the whole town: the massive security detail had cleared the streets in the king's path, and her car was towed from in front of City Hall.

Hussein, accompanied by his son, Faisal, and daughter, Aisha, began his condolence calls — 10 to 15 minutes in each house — with a stop at the Fatih family in Moshav Tzefat, before coming to Beit Shemesh.

The first stop in town, on a main street called Shiva, was a media circus, with television crews and townfolk gathered to witness the historic sight of an Arab king mimicking the Jewish mitzva of a shiva

call. Up the street, past the town bulletin board with the girls' death notices pasted up, was his second stop, the Mei'ri family at 42 Rehov Arlozoroff. In the hours before his visit, the street and sidewalk were empty, as much from the rain as from the security. It looked almost deserted, until you noticed the policemen, soldiers, border policemen, and GSS agents tucked inside every doorway and on many roofs, guns at the ready. It looked like a scene from *High Noon*, everyone standing quietly waiting for the drama to unfold.

As the motorcade sped by, there wasn't much to see, just the passing limousine with the Jordanian flag flying from the front fender telling you who was inside.

Hana Jomo didn't care. The 36-year-old Beit Shemesh resident said she felt she had to be on the street to show her support.

I give him a lot of credit that he came here, and I came out to salute him," she said. "Even in the rain. Even if it would have snowed — he deserves it. I believe he was sincere in coming here, and he came because of genuine feeling and not because he felt any obligation. It really hurt him."

Moreover, she said, his visit had less to do with Beit Shemesh than it did with his own countrymen. "He's trying to send a message back to Jordan that this is the way to behave," she said. For the families in mourning, the visit was downplayed as much as possible, given the overwhelming media presence. "We were waiting for him like we were waiting for anyone else who was coming to visit," said Yehudit Yaish, an aunt of Adi Mei'ri. "There was a bit of excitement, but we're not involved that much in politics, either right or left. It was just as if it was the prime minister, or the president, the same degree of excitement."

Despite the sadness in the town, where no one was more than two degrees of separation removed from one of the girls who had been killed, that degree of excitement was felt.

But even more, there was a feeling that people all over, including a king, were touched by the tragedy that had befallen the town.

The outpouring from the world has been so heartfelt and has touched so many here," said Zwebner. "Everyone here sees that people from outside in the world truly care, and one small town has made the whole world a small town."

Labor no-confidence motion today

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

The Labor Party leadership yesterday decided to submit its no-confidence motion in the government today, despite the murderous attack in Jordan last week.

MK Efraim Sneh, who is to present the motion, said at the end of a meeting held in party chairman Shimon Peres's office that "beginning the construction on Har Homa will bring about a general explosion in the territories. It's only a matter of time — days or weeks."

Sneh said Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's aim is to end the negotiations with the Palestinians and blow up the peace process.

[Justice Minister Tzahi]

Hanegbi's attack on Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat and the timing of the building in Har Homa expose Netanyahu's real intentions," he said.

The meeting was attended by Peres, party secretary-general Nissim Zivili, Knesset faction chairman Ra'anan Cohen, and MKs Elmad Barak, Uzi Baram, Yossi Beilin, Sneh, Benjamin Ben-Eliezer, and Avraham Shohat.

"The government doesn't put off its shortcomings, so why should we give it a week's extension?" asked Cohen.

"The government's dangerous decisions are causing our relations with the Arab states to deteriorate and jeopardizing the future of the people of Israel."

This is why it is incumbent upon us to hold the vote of no-confidence in the prime minister and the flaws in his functioning."

Other MKs said that before another disaster is brought upon the country by Netanyahu and his cabinet, Labor must do all it can to topple the government.

Party sources noted that if Netanyahu really wanted to bring about national unity, he would have invited Peres and the opposition leadership to join the condolence visits he made with King Hussein yesterday.

The sources said the visit was supposed to have been a private one, but Netanyahu and Foreign Minister David Levy cynically used it for their own political purposes, as was evident from their constant upstaging of Hussein.

Final-status talks delayed

By JON INMANUEL

The final-status talks, due to start today, will not open unless the Har Homa controversy is resolved. Palestinian officials said yesterday.

They also said that they hoped King Hussein could convince Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu not to let bulldozers start work on the site.

The date for the final-status talks was fixed in the talks with the Palestinian Authority on Hebron last December, when Hussein also mediated at the last moment.

Israel is prepared to begin the talks, the Foreign Ministry said yesterday. Foreign Minister David Levy told this to Mahmoud Abbas, PA Chairman Yasser Arafat's deputy, in a meeting last week, but Abbas replied that only Arafat could decide to go forward with them.

As of last night, Arafat had not responded, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said, adding, "Israel expects that the Palestinian Authority will answer the invitation and fulfill its obligation, under to the [Hebron] agreement, to renew talks."

Explaining why the final-status talks could not begin today, Ahmed Qurie, the chief Palestinian negotiator of the Oslo accords, said, "What we have here is a conceptual disagreement on the Oslo agreements, of which Har Homa is the tip of the iceberg."

If Har Homa had not appeared the iceberg may have remained submerged and unseen. But how can we talk about settlements when we see that such blatant settlement continues?"

Palestinian Authority cabinet secretary Ahmed Abdel-Rahman said that he understood from the beginning that King Hussein was not only on a condolence visit.

"This is a message that the Arab world is ready for peace. It will be yet another shock if Netanyahu does not understand the message."

Abdel-Rahman, a close associate of Arafat, said that the tension could be resolved without causing Netanyahu to lose face.

"All we ask is that he not fix a day for bringing bulldozers to the hill. He should find room to delay it for technical reasons. The Palestinian side will understand that means Israeli flexibility."

Without such a delay "there is no peace process and there can be no final talks since we cannot sit at the same table."

Abdel-Rahman said the PA does not see Hussein's possible intervention as an attempt to usurp the PA's claims on Jerusalem.

"It doesn't matter to whom Netanyahu makes the gesture. He can speak with Hussein, [Morocco's King] Hassan, [Egypt's President] Mubarak or Arafat."

Itim contributed to this report.

NEWS

in brief

Pressler Commission begins work

The Pressler Commission, appointed by the Education Ministry to investigate Thursday's murder of seven Beit Shemesh schoolgirls by a Jordanian soldier at Naharayim, began its administrative work yesterday.

Today, it is to begin taking testimony from ministry officials involved with school outings. After the shiva, the panel will visit Beit Shemesh to take testimony.

Commission head Brig.-Gen. (res.) Yigal Pressler called upon anyone with relevant information to fax it to the commission at (02) 5603629.

Jerusalem Post Staff

Hammer asks to meet Jordan, Egypt counterparts

Education Minister Zevulun Hammer is to invite his counterparts in Jordan and Egypt to a meeting on teaching pupils in all three countries about the value of the peace process.

Hammer made the suggestion to members of King Hussein's entourage yesterday during the king's condolence visits to the families of the schoolgirls killed at Naharayim. The Jordanians responded positively and said they would encourage their education minister to attend.

Jerusalem Post Staff

Jordanian bar to defend schoolgirls' killer

The Jordan Bar Association said yesterday that it is organizing lawyers to prepare for the trial of Ahmed Daqamsa, who is accused of killing seven Israeli schoolgirls. Hussein Mjall, the association president, said he will head a defense team to be named in the next several days.

Daqamsa, 28, an army corporal, is expected to be tried before a military court after investigations are complete. No trial date has been set. Jordan has military prosecutors, but the defendants in military cases are represented by private lawyers.

AP

Hizbullah leader praises Jordanian murderer

Hizbullah official Mohammed Yizbak praised the Jordanian soldier who murdered seven schoolgirls last week.

"It is impossible that the fascist police will dominate the free and honorable nations. There will come a day when all of the Arab nations will go out to demonstrate their opposition to the contemptible agreements, as did the Jordanian soldier on March 13," he said on Friday.

Itim

Prof. Kalman Mann buried

Prof. Kalman Mann, the long-time director-general of the Hadassah Medical Organization (HMO) and most recently chairman of the presidium of Yad Sarah, who died on Friday at 84, was buried yesterday at Sanhedria Cemetery in Jerusalem.

Mann was born in Jerusalem and studied medicine at the University of London. He became deputy director-general of HMO in 1949 and director-general two years later, holding the position for 30 years. He oversaw the construction of the Ein Kerem campus and the rebuilding of the Mt. Scopus campus after the Six Day War.

Kalman Mann (Ariehman Mann)

Judy Siegel

Six injured in traffic accidents

A woman and her two children were injured in Beit Yerah in the Jordan Valley yesterday afternoon when their car crashed into a truck head-on. They were taken to Poriya Hospital, where the mother is in serious condition. The toddlers, who suffered moderate injuries, were flown to the Rabin Medical Center-Beilinson Campus in Petah Tikva for treatment.

A man was seriously injured in a traffic accident in Tel Aviv last night and taken to Sheba Hospital at Tel Hashomer.

Two people were lightly injured yesterday evening when a patch of oil on the Jerusalem-Givat Ze'ev road caused a seven-car pile-up. The road was closed in both directions after the accident.

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Mubarak: Politics make US soft on Israel

CAIRO (Reuters) — US politicians cannot take a tough line on Israeli policy in Jerusalem because of domestic political pressures, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak said, in an interview broadcast on state television yesterday.

"When you sit with the Congress people and the American president himself, you feel that they could be forced to take any measure for certain political circumstances," he said.

Mubarak was speaking in the Moroccan capital Rabat on Saturday morning, on his way home from the US.

Washington upset its Arab allies earlier this month by vetoing a UN Security Council resolution condemning the decision to build on Har Homa.

"That does not mean that the United States is not in favor of Arab rights and the Palestinian cause," Mubarak said. "On the contrary, the United States is a main element in the peace process, an effective and basic element. But it's political conditions that make them do that."

Asked if he had a message for Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, he said he would tell him peace was worth any concessions and extremism would only add to violence in the region.

"I said this to [former prime ministers] Yitzhak Shamir, Yitzhak Rabin, and Shimon Peres. They understood the matter, perhaps because they had lots of experience," he added.

Police probing two fly-by-night car firms

By RABE MARCUS

Tel Aviv police are investigating several complaints against two companies that allegedly defrauded potential employees who had applied to them to work abroad.

The companies published ads in the Hebrew and Russian press asking for workers who could earn money abroad by transferring vehicles from country to country in Europe. The potential employees paid the companies money for a one-way plane ticket, and were promised their return air fares, plus \$1,000 for each vehicle moved from one European country to another.

The first firm, Eurocompany, advertised in a Russian newspaper. Potential employees came to the company's Tel Aviv offices, signed contracts and paid the one-



Prisoners of Zion recognized

Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon presents a certificate to Hila Sa'ada in honor of her husband, who was killed for his involvement in Zionist activities in Yemen. He was one of 150 martyrs and Prisoners of Zion from a variety of countries who were commemorated at a Knesset ceremony yesterday.

(Yitzhak Elhanan/Scoop 80)

PA official: Israel infected Palestinians with AIDS

By URUEL HEILMAN

The centuries-old blood libel leveled at Jews was revived yet again last week at a human-rights forum in Geneva, when Palestinian representative Nabil Ramlawi accused the "Israeli authorities" of having "infected by injection 300 Palestinian children with the HIV virus during the years of the intifada."

The same charge was printed in late January by the Egyptian daily *Al-Ahram*. However, it was retract-

ed several days later, *Al-Ahram* admitted on its front page that the story was completely false.

Responding to Ramlawi's accusation at the session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Christian Solidarity International representative David Littman called upon the commission to "challenge manifest anti-Semitism... and prepare a declaration from the chair outlawing such racist statements."

Calling the charge "false" and "grotesque," Littman lamented

"the foul accusations... [which were] followed so tragically — albeit in a different context — by the cold-blooded shooting of Israeli schoolgirls by a demented Jordanian soldier, who would probably have believed every single word of hatred pronounced three days ago."

The Israeli representative to the commission, Yosef Landan, urged the president of the 53rd Session of the Commission on Human Rights to expose the "hideous libel" and cease to take Ramlawi seriously.

"He apparently advocates the well-trained technique of the 'big lie,'" Landan wrote in a letter to the president.

In his speech, Littman reminded the commission that this was not the first time such libels were produced against Israel. In 1983, then-chairman of the PLO Yasser Arafat accused Israel of "poisoning Palestinian schoolgirls" in a letter addressed to the UN secretary-general, a charge later confirmed as false by a team of independent medical experts.

MDA workers postpone strike

By JUDY SIEGEL

The Magen David Adom workers union decided yesterday to postpone a one-hour warning strike of all staffers, scheduled for noon today, to give a chance to talks with Health Minister Yehoshua Matza and Treasury officials. Instead of a full strike, starting at 3 p.m. today, no ambulance driver/medic will take patients unless accompanied by another medic; this will reduce by half the number of available ambulances during the day.

Mobile intensive care units, which are manned by a paramedic and physician, will function normally.

The union had planned to refuse to answer all calls for help at noon, but decided to postpone the action because of the meeting to discuss their demands scheduled for 11:30 a.m.

The strike was to have coincided with the opening of MDA's national convention at Ramat Efal this afternoon. The event will be highlighted by the awarding of citations to three MDA teams who saved the lives of a nine-year-old boy severely hurt at a building site, a woman seriously wounded in the Bus No. 26 terror attack in Jerusalem and a Bnei Brak yeshiva student who was electrocuted.

Although MDA staffers have not been invited to attend the gathering, which the union says is of an "irrelevant body," they will send representatives to

hold protest signs. Union head Eli Ben-Khassous called on members to behave with restraint at the MDA event.

Future plans regarding sanctions will be decided after the union meeting with Health and Finance Ministry officials. Workers at MDA — the first-aid, ambulance and blood-supply organization — have been begging for the last five years for a medic to accompany ambulance drivers during their rounds.

Because of severe budgetary constraints, the organization came under the aegis of the Health Ministry and is subject to orders from the Finance Ministry. This resulted in the closing of ambulance stations, renting them out to private interests and establishing mere ambulance start-off points in most towns and cities instead.

This severely reduced the facilities for absorbing young volunteers to accompany medic drivers (except for in Jerusalem), and when out on a call, the drivers have to worry about traffic while the patient is alone in the back. MDA workers are demanding not only that every ambulance be manned by an extra medic, but also the special duty pay received by hospital workers and an allotment for dangerous duty, such as evacuation of injured at chemical installations. The Treasury has so far refused these demands, even though Fire Service workers do receive this additional pay.

Kisangani firmly in rebel hands

News agencies

KISANGANI — The center of Zaire's third largest city of Kisangani was calm and in rebel hands yesterday after government troops fled.

There was no gunfire yesterday evening and scores of rebel soldiers patrolled the airport near the city center.

Rebels celebrated their biggest victory after taking Kisangani and vowed to pursue government troops and foreign mercenaries fleeing westwards.

"We are advancing even beyond Kisangani in all the directions that the enemy has taken in retreat," rebel information chief Raphael Ghenda told reporters in Goma, capital of the rebel-held east.

Now that Zairian rebels have seized their greatest prize so far in the six-month civil war, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan is hoping they will soon be ready to accept UN call for a cease-fire and talks with the Zairian government.

But there was no immediate indication that rebel leader Laurent Kabila was ready to accept a cease-fire despite the capture of Kisangani.

The Security Council has urged Kabila to accept a cease-fire and begin talks based on the five-point UN peace plan.

"There has been the suspicion that after Kisangani, they may be ready for talks," Annan said after meeting with senior staff at UN headquarters.

Amman conferred by telephone with his special envoy, Mohamed Sahnoun of Algeria, who was meeting with Kabila in the eastern Zairian city of Goma as the rebels were overrunning Kisangani.

The Tutsi-led rebels who began their fight five months ago now control about one-fifth of the vast Central African nation.

Ghenda said forces of the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire had crossed to the west bank of the broad Zaire river at Kisangani, to which remnants of the defending Zairean force fled after Saturday's battle.

Rebels encountered pockets of resistance yesterday morning from mainly Serb mercenaries but have now cleared the town, according to a senior aid official.

Residents reported few casualties before or after the rebels marched into town. "I didn't see any dead and wounded. It was a peaceful takeover within central Kisangani," said hotel worker Pele Lesondja.

The rebels, advancing on several fronts, said they were aiming next for the southern mining hub of Lubumbashi. But the ultimate goal was Kinshasa, Zaire's capital. "Lubumbashi is the next big target... but all the towns of the republic are targets including Kinshasa itself," Ghenda said.

Lubumbashi, Zaire's second largest city, is the capital of Shaba region and has long been a center for opposition to Mobutu, who has ruled since seizing power in 1965.

Clinton-Yeltsin summit delayed a day

WASHINGTON (Reuters) — President Bill Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin will delay a Helsinki summit by one day this week to give Clinton more time to recuperate from emergency knee surgery, the White House said yesterday.

Spokesman David Johnson said the postponement was worked out by Clinton and Yeltsin aides "over last night and this morning" to give the US president "another day to get ready" for his talks with Yeltsin on NATO expansion and other issues.

"In order to provide the president with an additional day to recuperate, President Clinton and President Yeltsin have agreed to delay the start of the summit in Helsinki by one day," Johnson said.

Clinton, who was discharged from Bethesda National Navy Medical Center just before midnight yesterday, will leave Washington late on Wednesday March 19 and arrive in Helsinki midday Thursday for two days of talks with the Russian leader.

A Clinton visit to Denmark that had been planned for after the summit will be rescheduled for July, Johnson said.

The White House had first said there had been no discussion of

delaying or significantly altering Clinton's plans for the summit with Yeltsin, whose own health has been more of a concern than that of Clinton's.

"We took a look at the schedule and just decided it would be better to delay it by one day," Johnson said.

Clinton tore a tendon in his right knee in an accident on Friday when he lost his footing on a step at the Florida home of Australian professional Greg Norman, the underwear surgery the same day.

The two presidents were to start their summit with a working dinner in the Finnish capital and hold the bulk of their talks the next day at the secluded seaside residence of Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari.

Johnson said that the previously announced schedule would remain essentially the same. "There might be some trimming here and adding there, but it's essentially the same schedule," he said.

In addition to NATO expansion, Clinton and Yeltsin were to focus on arms control and Russia's transformation to a market economy.

A US official said Clinton would pass along US ideas for structural and legal reforms in Russia.

Peru terrorists allege army offensive

LIMA (Reuters) — The Marxist rebel movement holding 72 VIPs claimed yesterday the army was "engaged in a major operation" to flush the guerrillas out of their jungle strongholds despite talks to end the hostage siege peacefully.

A senior Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) leader said the army was deploying more than 500 soldiers to sweep through the central jungle provinces of Oaxapampa and Chanchamayo in a bid to deactivate the group's military bases.

"The army has engaged in a major operation looking for our camps," Comrade Alejandro, who identified himself as a member of the MRTA's high command, or policy-making body, said in a communication from the jungle county of Junin.

The army denies there is any military operation. But local media has reported several MRTA captures over the last two

weeks in the central jungle — the only area where the MRTA has a permanent armed presence.

Alejandro said that during the operation, which started in early March, there have been three incidents of distant gunfire exchanges between the rebels and soldiers.

The MRTA's fighters, who number no more than 200 according to analysts, usually clash with the army on average once a month in the area, he added.

The army had not captured any rebels in the operation, but had detained village peasants alleging they were members of the MRTA, he claimed. "They want to find our camps but the only thing they are doing is detaining peasants," he said.

Comrade Alejandro claimed the army's action was in response to a series of Reuters reports late February about MRTA training and peasant collaboration in the central jungle.

Violinist Joseph Fuchs dies at 97

NEW YORK (AP) — American violinist Joseph Fuchs, a teacher at the Juilliard School of Music and performer who remained before the musical public longer than any violinist in history, has died of cardiac arrest, his daughter said. He was 97.

Fuchs died at his Manhattan apartment Friday, his daughter, Esther Fuchs said.

Fuchs, who was born in New York City April 26, 1899, played violin with a vigorous, large-scaled style, a masterful technique and a rich, warm tone. He also was praised for his interpretive power and musical insight.

After graduating from the School of Musical Art, now the Juilliard School, and studying with Franz Kneisel, who knew Brahms, Fuchs became concertmaster of the Cleveland Orchestra in 1926.

He resigned in 1940 to pursue a solo career. During World War II he played in military hospitals.

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Those who are not salaried and not self-employed can obtain forms at their nearest post office.

There will be a hot line for questions on the subject today, Monday, March 17 and tomorrow Tuesday, March 18 from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. Please call 177-022-3141.

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MOVIE REVIEW

On the road to nowhere

By ADINA HOFFMAN

The initial half hour of *Lost Highway*, David Lynch's latest plunge into the great pulp unconscious, seems to promise a mellowing of the director's usual revved-up tone: there's no sudden cardiac arrest like the one that opened *Blue Velvet*, or brutal murder as in the first scene of *Wild at Heart*.

LOST HIGHWAY

Directed by David Lynch. Written by David Lynch and Barry Gifford. Hebrew title: *Kvish Avud*. 140 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Children under 17 not admitted without an adult. With Bill Pullman, Patricia Arquette, Balthazar Getty, Robert Blake, Robert Loggia, Gary Busey and Richard Fryer.

Heart. Instead, he builds his creepy-crawly atmosphere in near silence, panning around the cool, flat exterior and sparsely furnished living room of an almost windowless bungalow in what appears to be the Hollywood Hills.

Inside, an agitated-looking man (Bill Pullman) sucks on a cigarette,

then exchanges a few coded words with his nervous wife (Patricia Arquette), a smoothly pretty, only-in-the-movies kind of girl, who wears a silky dressing gown, a smudge of red lipstick and dark china-doll bangs cut in a straight line across her pale forehead.

What is going on? Who are these people? Because the director is so exacting with his imagery (in Lynch's hands, even the retro-suburban couch and chairs exude a peculiar menace) we trust that he is in control and is just waiting for the right moment to let us in on the mystery. Visually and in terms of sly, suspense-building tools, *Lost Highway* borrows from Hitchcock's *Vertigo*, *Psycho* and *Rear Window* come to mind — and one finds oneself watching the film with the heightened awareness that those taut, wrought movies demand, scanning the corners of the screen for carefully placed clues about the characters' identity and secrets.

We may wonder, for example, about the significance of the wife's black nail polish. The camera zooms in with flourish on her pointed fingertips as they dig into her husband's bare back, and it lingers on this picture for what feels like ages. Aside from playing his usual perspective-warping games, Lynch seems to want us to

catch a shivery glimpse of something dark and twisted about the woman... Or maybe he doesn't. As always with his work, one may feel a bit foolish and overliteral as one tries to string the lurid details together into some logical sequence, or a meaningful emotional pattern. Perhaps he intends something in old-fashioned, hint-dropping narrative terms by this camera angle, but there is, too, always the strong possibility that he's toying with us, throwing us such deliberately freaky scraps just for the hell of it, as a means of creating a random, wacked-out texture.

A complete recounting of the corkscrew twists and turns of plot that follows is difficult. Suffice it to say that Arquette's character seems to be murdered in a brutal fashion by her husband, but the actress turns up later as a blonde femme fatale; meanwhile, Pullman's character, sentenced to the electric chair, is plagued by a series of hallucination-inducing headaches, then disappears mysteriously from death row and is replaced in his cell by a dazed young mechanic, played by Balthazar Getty, who soon hooks up with Arquette's fair-haired vamp...

But summary is pointless, too, and rather maddening, because as the movie goes on it becomes



Patricia Arquette and Balthazar Getty share a few coded words.

increasingly clear that neither Lynch nor his co-writer Barry Gifford gives a hoot whether the story makes the slightest sense; neither do they invest the film's irrational side with the force that might justify such sloppiness. (Lynch is no Luis Buñuel.) The weirder things get, the more the movie suggests an especially aimless episode of *The Twilight Zone* and, in the end, it all turns out to have been one long, strangely humorless tease. We never figure out why or even how the characters

do what they do; they just do it, like a group of stylishly dressed zombies with telekinetic powers. Worse still, the script's illogic appears to be deliberate, as though Lynch and Gifford believed that a confusing storyline was part and parcel of the film's psychological truth, or that the more impenetrable a character's actions, the deeper and more profound. Perhaps diehard Lynch fans will see more going on beneath the surface here; for the non-initiate, however, *Lost Highway* is just a bad trip.

Kingdom's subjects

By HELEN KAYE

Last time British actor Bob Dylan was here five years ago, he performed *Dylan Thomas: the Return Journey*, his one-man show about the great Welsh poet who played with language like a child with sunbeams, and drank himself to death at only 39.

He's coming back March 27 through April 6 with that same show, and with *The Truman Capote*



Bob Dylan as the poet Dylan Thomas

Talk Show. It chronicles the meteoric rise and fall of the American iconoclast who wrote *In Cold Blood* and *Breakfast at Tiffany's* and died at 59, destroyed by alcohol and drugs.

"I'm fascinated by people who are born with gifts," says Kingdom over the phone from his London home, his own way with words in full cry. "You spend years working innocently in tandem with the Giver of the gift, with God, and then you become fated and fated. The ego takes over, telling you that it's you and you alone that have done this. Then that channel [through which the gift flowed] dries up because of the destruction caused by the drink or the drugs."

When Kingdom plays Thomas, he looks like his double. The same is true when he does Capote. Even the lines of his face change subtly. He likes that, saying, "I'm attracted by people whom I look like and can become, whom I can inhabit. There's a spiritual logic in that, as though fate is giving me permission to do these people."

It's a coincidence that both men

were self-destructive, he observes, because after all "the addictive personality is part of the human condition. Yet apart from the cultural differences both had a cynicism and a dryness to them. I think that the gifted, creative person despises those he creates for. Capote despised all the beautiful people that hung around him."

A Welshman himself, and a lover of language like both his alter egos, Kingdom started with *Dylan Thomas* at pub theaters in London and then took it to the Edinburgh Festival in 1985 where it got raves from critics and audiences. He's been performing the show all over the world ever since, and added Capote about four years ago.

Critics talk about how character and actor seem to merge, yet Kingdom is firmly in control. In an interview five years ago, he said of Thomas that "if he took over my life, I'd stop doing him... I love being me."

He's stoutish, curly-haired, has a bit of a double chin and became an actor by accident. Certainly he's never had the reliable career with a pension at the end of it that his parents wanted for him. He grew up in Cardiff, left school at 15 and eventually landed up working at an ad agency near London where his gift for graphics landed him a design job which developed into art direction and copywriting.

He also wrote and performed satirical skits for the BBC Welsh Service, but his acting career really began with impressions at parties. The show on Thomas had its genesis there. It's directed by Kingdom's friend and fellow Welshman, Sir Anthony Hopkins. Capote is directed by Kevin Knight.

Dylan Thomas quotes the poet's letters, prose and the poetry of course. *Talk Show* "is all mine, except for quotes from TV shows. The Capote estate wouldn't let me use any quotes [from the books] or other sources, and I'm glad because otherwise I wouldn't have come up with such a good show."

He is performing both plays on separate evenings in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa. Rehovot, Kfar Sava, and Beit Gabriel on the Kinneret will get only the Thomas show, and the Capote piece will be performed at Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba.



Nearly 18 months since Jerry Garcia (center) died, the Grateful Dead remain popular.

Remembering Jerry Garcia

By DAVID BROWN

Sometimes you get shown the light in the strangest of places if you look at it right. That's the mantra of the Deadheads, the Grateful Dead fanatics who, 18 months after lead singer and guitar wizard Jerry Garcia's death, still adore the now-defunct band.

This Purim, there will be another chance for Deadheads to see the light, and for novices to discover the psychedelic hoopla. A Grateful Dead Purim video party will take place on Sunday, March 23, at 10 p.m. at the Tel Aviv Cinematheque.

For the more than 500 Deadheads who converged from around the country on Tel Aviv for the last Dead video night in August 1996, the event was a flashback to a real Dead concert.

"People who knew the Dead told me that it was the next best thing to being at a real concert, and those who had never seen the Dead said, 'Now I know what you're talking about,'" says the organizer of the event, author, journalist and radio personality Uri Lotan. He promises the same high-quality wide screen, superb concert-quality sound system and good vibes this time around.

The highlight will be a tape from a 1987 New Year's Eve performance in California, traditional-

ly a high point of the band's concert season. Founder of a weekly Dead-based radio show, Lotan says he puts on the video nights for love and for fun. His radio program has been broadcast on *Army Radio* and *Kol Haderach*, but is currently between stations.

"I barely cover my expenses," he said. "I just enjoy bringing everyone together. What impressed me was the cross-section of people who showed up. Kibbutzniks, people with kippot, even a Habadnik." And of course wherever there's a Dead happening, there are ex-pat Americans.

In the US, the band's organization continues to release live CDs from various shows at regular intervals, the Internet is full of Dead-related sites and chat lines, and a minor cottage industry in Jerry Garcia books has sprung up.

Despite the less-than-flower-child image that has emerged of Garcia's years of drug abuse, and a nasty public battle over his fortune between his widow and his ex-wives, most Deadheads are concerned only with the music.

"The legend and myth grow and grow," says Lotan. "The [countless bootleg audio and video] tapes will always be around. This is not the last we've heard of the Grateful Dead."

Tickets for the video night are available from the Cinematheque box office at (03) 691-7181. Be forewarned that last year's show sold out.

An incredible journey to the lost empire of the Khazars

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

A year and half ago, Ehud Ya'ari, Israeli Television's leading authority on Middle Eastern matters, was about to miss a momentous event: Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk Shara was going to speak for the first time to Israeli correspondents. "I was in Crimea at the time... When I told [US peace team coordinator] Dennis Ross and [US Ambassador to Israel] Martin Indyk that it would have been all right with me to miss it, they thought I was crazy."

Why was Ya'ari willing to miss such an exceptional event and what was he doing in Crimea?

For several years Ya'ari has been working on a documentary about the kingdom of the Khazars, the legendary Jewish kingdom of horsemen in the Caucasus which existed in the latter part of the first millennium. The result of this ongo-

ing journey will be seen on Channel 1 in *The Kingdom of the Khazars* — three one-hour episodes starting tonight and continuing nightly through Wednesday at 10 p.m.

The series is the realization of a childhood dream. "As a child I heard that our family has some Khazarian blood and for 30 years now I have been trying to find information about this exciting subject."

Before the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, it was virtually impossible to get information. "Stalin even forbade studying this topic altogether and there was an ongoing effort to rub out all evidence of the existence of the Khazars."

Ya'ari, 52, explains that the "Khazarian kingdom was the first actual state that existed in Eastern Europe. The Russians were probably ashamed that actual Jewish kings existed on Mother Russia's soil. "We Jews somehow disregarded them too. They do not exist in the



Ehud Ya'ari realizes a childhood dream. (Israel Sim)

school curriculum and not even one university professor has studied them. It seems that even the Jews all over the world were not sure if the Khazars were characters of reality or of a fictional myth. But

from 740 to 970 they had the largest kingdom in the world, stretching from the mountains of the Urals to Hungary."

Ya'ari set out to film this lost chapter in Jewish history as a documentary adventure for television. Out of the 120 hours of footage recorded by his cameras, three will eventually reach the screen. "For three years we traveled in the remotest parts of the world in the Caucasus and in Ukraine. At times we needed to use bribery to get information, and there were occasions in which we needed to trick people in order to see things. It is all captured on camera."

In this exciting journey of discovery Ya'ari and his crew came across the golden treasure of the Khazars, including jewelry and artifacts, Jewish tombstones and Torah scrolls. "I believe we reached the actual remains of the legendary capital Itil where the kings reigned. We also discovered

their fortress city Sarkel which Stalin drowned in an artificial lake. We found golden jewelry hidden in matchboxes in stinking cellars."

Ehud Ya'ari sees himself as "a soldier in the last battle of the Khazar kingdom, a battle for the right to be remembered." He hopes that, following the screening of his documentary this week, and its eventual broadcast by TV stations abroad, "someone will arrange for a major exhibition of these treasures to be presented in museums in Israel and all over the world. I also hope for an extensive academic symposium on the topic."

"And finally I would like to secure funds to continue excavations in several places which looked quite promising. My sexiest dream is to find the actual tomb of one of the Khazar kings. I believe that if we achieve that it will be as important at least as the discovery of Troy or of the treasures of the Pharaohs in the Pyramids."

NEWS

of the muse

Accountant replaces parents

Home Alone star Macaulay Culkin can use some of his \$17 million fortune to keep his family from homelessness, a judge ruled Tuesday. State Supreme Court Justice David Saxe also removed the young actor's warring parents as guardians of his property and replaced them with Macaulay's choice, his longtime accountant Billy D. Breimer.

Culkin, reportedly the highest-paid child actor in history, earned up to \$8 million a movie after starring in *Home Alone* at age 10 in 1990. Most of a child star's earnings are protected in accounts that usually can be tapped only by court order.



Macaulay Culkin

The Pryce of villainy

British actor Jonathan Pryce, last seen as Juan Peron in *Evita* will play the villain, a power-crazed mogul, in the 18th James Bond movie, titled *Tomorrow Never Dies*, filmmaker Eon Productions announced Monday. The movie, with a \$56 million budget, has begun filming outside London. It will be released at Christmas and stars Pierce Brosnan as 007 and Michelle Yeoh, a product of London's Royal Academy of Dance, as his beautiful sidekick.

In love with the rebbeztin

A new Yiddishpiel (formerly the Israel Yiddish Theater) production of Morris Schwartz's adaptation of I.Y. Singer's celebrated romantic novel *Yoshe Kalb* opens March 29 at ZOA House in Tel Aviv. It's the sad, comical tale of Nahumtche, nicknamed Yossi the Calf (Itzik Atzmon), who falls in love with his rabbi's new wife. The big complication is that he's married to the rabbi's daughter. *Yoshe Kalb* was first produced at Schwartz's famed New York Yiddish theater in the '20s. Here the show was done both at the Ohel, with Schwartz as the rabbi, and then at Habimah in Hebrew. Yiddishpiel founder and artistic director Shmuel Atzmon reports that the first three shows are sold out.

International women

"Women Speak and Write Peace" is a three-day regional conference, the first of its kind, to be held at the Suzanne Dellal Center in Tel Aviv, March 25 through 27. So far there are some 80 participants with 30 coming from abroad, including representatives from Morocco, Egypt, Cyprus, Turkey, Greece and Italy. The conference aims to examine the status of women authors, poets, playwrights, screenwriters and so on.

Municipal arts department head Dr. Shosh Avigal, playwright Miriam Kainey and former Meretz head Shulamit Aloni are among the organizers and speakers.

Germans focus on Israel

The Focus Israel Festival which was held recently in Würzburg, Germany, featured numerous works by Israeli composers performed by local German musicians. Among the composers whose work was performed at the festival were Zvi Avni, Ari Ben-Shabtai, Yoram Leif, Menahem Tzur, Mark Kopytman, Haim Alexander, Menahem Wiesenberg, Betti Olivero and Oded Zehavi. There are talks about organizing a reciprocal festival in Jerusalem.



Oded Zehavi (Erwin Schenkelbach)

Dana and Anna win big

Two young women were declared the winners at the recent 21st François Shapira Competition for Young Musicians at the Tel Aviv Museum. The annual event is organized by the America Israel Cultural Foundation. In the vocal/brass/recorder division the winner was 28-year-old Israeli-born soprano Dana Glazer who sang in the final round two very difficult arias by Verdi. In the piano division the winner was Anna Katserman, 24, who was born in the former Soviet Union and immigrated to Israel at the age of four. In the final round she played Mozart's 27th Piano Concerto.

Short plays at Tzavta

The first Short Play Festival gets underway at Tzavta Tel Aviv on April 3 and 4. There are nine plays from five to 30 minutes each, most of them written by established playwrights such as Yehoshua Sobol, Miriam Kainey and Gilad Evron. The festival is the idea of actor Shalom Shmelov.

SEE IT IN HEBREW- HEAR IT IN ENGLISH!

TWELFTH NIGHT

March 18 at 8:30 p.m.

The Cameron Theatre production of Shakespeare's amorous comedy — a hysterical love triangle between a man, woman and teenage boy.

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The Jerusalem Post

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THE JERUSALEM POST

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Studies in contrasts

The Middle East is a region of striking juxtapositions, but seldom are they as sharply contrasted as those surrounding the moving condolence visit of King Hussein here yesterday.

On the one hand, the king's gesture, at once grand and humble, in the wake of the terrible massacre of seven schoolgirls by one of his country's soldiers. On the other, the freezing of the peace process by the Palestinians, coupled with a looming threat of violence if and when building begins on Jerusalem's Har Homa.

This is not the king's first visit to Israel, but in terms of the significance for the relationship between the two peoples, no visit from an Arab leader has had such an impact since that of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat almost twenty years ago. Sadat's visit broke through the seemingly impenetrable wall between the Arab world and Israel; King Hussein's visit was a rescue mission with two aims: To restore the faith of Israelis in the peace with Jordan, and to break the crisis in Palestinian-Israeli relations.

The contrast with a similar incident in 1985, in which an Egyptian border policeman gunned down seven Israeli tourists at Ras Bourka in the Sinai, is striking. No Egyptian leader came to offer condolences at that time, and Israeli interest in traveling to Egypt and hopes for a warmer peace plummeted. Egypt, in effect, did nothing to remove the bitter taste left by the incident, uncorrected, and the peace with Egypt has never fully recovered. One could even contrast it with the behavior of our own leaders: Though Israeli officials condemned and expressed horror at the massacre committed in Hebron by Baruch Goldstein, no leader visited grieving Palestinian families.

But the singularity of Hussein's gesture cannot totally blot out Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat's continued efforts to foster a crisis atmosphere.

Though Arafat has not yet come straight out and advocated a violent response to the planned construction at Har Homa, his continued virulent finally snapped something in Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi, who threatened that Arafat personally could suffer Israeli retribution if Palestinians got into a shooting war with the IDF.

The Hanegbi outburst, besides being undiplomatic to the point of thuggishness, was just the excuse the Palestinians needed to claim that it is not they, but Israel, who is threatening violence. Netanyahu should have immediately made clear that threats against the Palestinian leadership

are unacceptable.

That said, the Gaza conference arranged this weekend by Arafat "to save the peace process" actually poured oil on the fire. Arafat himself refused to reject violence as an option, saying the "Palestinian masses" will decide their own response to Israeli actions. Other Palestinian leaders were even more blunt.

"I think the peace process is finished with this government," PA cabinet secretary Ahmed Abdel-Rahman said. "The Israeli government is ignoring its own security services' warnings of violence if they send bulldozers to Har Homa. Netanyahu's statements, his ministers' statements, destroy peace, and if there is no peace there will be war."

In response to these threats, there is a deafening silence from the one element that could make the critical difference in preventing violence: the United States. The US has come out publicly and unequivocally against Israel's decision to build on Har Homa, its veto of the UN Security Council resolution on the matter notwithstanding. Regarding Palestinian threats of violence, however, the US has not taken as vocal a stance.

After the Naharayim massacre, President Clinton repeated America's generic rejection of violence. But no specific Palestinian statement has been criticized, and the US participation in Arafat's overblown weekend "briefing" — as US Ambassador Martin Indyk preferred to call it — could well be taken as a sign of sympathy for Palestinian grievances.

The American silence is mystifying. Presumably, the US does not want to be seen as automatically taking Israel's side in any dispute. But the desire to avoid violence is not some Israeli idiosyncrasy — it is a fundamental building block of the peace process. There can be no worse violation of not only the spirit, but the letter of Oslo than resorting to violence, and no violation could be more dangerous to the very survival of the peace process.

It is understandable that the US might want Israel to show some flexibility in alleviating Palestinian concerns. Reportedly, a "package deal" to resolve some of the issues is in the offing, the result of the telephone consultation yesterday between Hussein, Netanyahu and Arafat. But for its part, the US must state clearly that threats of violence are a severe violation of the Oslo Accords, and whoever makes them will be held responsible if the peace process breaks down.

Walking the plank

AARON LERNER

So what's Israel going to do next as a confidence-building measure? Release some more murderers? Delay construction on Har Homa indefinitely? Double the extent of redeployment?

Allies and enemies alike are waiting for the prime minister to announce the next round of CBMs. After all, could King Hussein leave Israel empty-handed after visiting the families of the

rifles to anti-tank missiles and mortars.

And its official incitement has been so successful that a stunning 41 percent of Palestinians in Jerusalem, Hebron and Bethlehem surveyed last week by The Palestinian Center for Public Opinion "favor suicidal attacks against Israeli targets."

We have lost confidence in America because of its cavalier attitude toward our genuine security concerns. Not only does the US ignore serious Palestinian security violations, President Clinton had the gall last week to suggest that Israel drop its legitimate demands for security control of the Palestinian airport and seaport (firmly established in Oslo 2) as a "gesture" to the Palestinians.

This isn't a matter of honor. If Israel doesn't control movement through the ports, the Palestinians will be able to bring anyone and anything into their state-in-the-making.

WITHOUT Palestinian CBMs, Israel has no reason to continue with what has turned into a "walking-the-plank" process.

In what looks like a dress rehearsal for the impasse expected in the final status negotiations, the Palestinians have embarked on a PR extravaganza, drawing support from both the Arab and Western worlds to pressure Israel for concessions. And the world is playing ball.

Forget about what is actually written in the agreements. Arafat isn't happy, and the world is at his feet.

So instead of telling the *ra'is* to stop his oblique threats of violence and his stories about Har Homa (where he claims the Jews plan a copy of Bethlehem to dupe the tourists) and about tunnels under the Temple Mount (to bring the Dome of the Rock tumbling down, to be replaced by a Third Temple), Clinton nods patiently

Any normal leader would be demanding confidence-building measures from Arafat

girls his soldier murdered?

And Yasser Arafat? He certainly deserves compensation for our refusal to withdraw from 30 percent of the West Bank this round.

That's just for starters. If the bulldozers start plowing on Har Homa and the Palestinians don't react "too sharply," the pressure will be on for a really special Israeli CBM.

But... if anyone ought to have lost confidence in the peace process by now, it's Israel. Which means it's time for some serious Palestinian confidence-building measures.

This isn't a cynical joke — it's what any normal country would be demanding today. And for good reason.

Confidence in the Palestinians and the Palestinian Authority is non-existent. They are preparing for war, not peace.

Bad enough that they have yet to take serious measures to collect illegal weapons and close down the militias; the PA itself is believed to be behind the smuggling in of everything from assault

Major stumbling blocks between Israel and the Palestinians — like Har Homa and Jerusalem — are usually perceived as a "zero-sum game," one side's gain being inevitably the other side's loss. But this need not be.

Creative lateral (and multilateral) thinking suggests that a confederation between Israel, Jordan and the Palestinians could accommodate all sides' genuine concerns and interests.

Moreover, current Israeli-Jordanian tensions, resulting from King Hussein's need to consider his own East Bank Palestinians — 70 percent of his population — demonstrate the reality of interdependence between these three players. They are bedfellows whether they like it or not.

The underlying concept, from Israel's viewpoint, would be minimizing further actual "on-the-ground" concessions while ceding a lot of ground where honor and pride, those cornerstones of Arab culture, are concerned. This would be done mainly by accepting a Palestinian state as an equal partner with Israel and Jordan.

Such a state would be constricted by the framework of the confederation, whose powers (in military endeavors, for example) would be laid down by the member states. In other respects, all three member states would remain distinct, like those of the European Union.

Although Jordan is ruled by the Hashemite clan, most of its subjects are Palestinians. The Hashemites and Israel thus share fundamental common interests in restraining perilous Palestinian aspirations.

The Israeli-Jordanian majority in the confederate institutions could, while strictly limiting the confederation's scope and powers, safe-

ODED TIRA and RON TIRA

guard Israel's essential interests.

Choosing Jerusalem as the seat of those institutions would provide Arabs with an honorable attachment to the holy city; yet Israel's sovereignty there would be no more undermined than Belgium's sovereignty in Brussels is compromised by the presence of the EU.

Resembling NATO, confederate security could rest on a territorial responsibility division differing

education levels and "kick-starting" the Palestinian economy. With confederate institutions ensuring the adequate appropriation of budgets, the dominant Palestinian democratic middle class that would emerge could be the key to a genuine peace.

Since Palestinian society is relatively small, and since the Palestinian people's role vis-a-vis their leadership is meaningful compared with other Arab soci-

By ceding ground without creating 'facts' Israel could draw the Palestinians into a peace supported by three pillars

from the political borders.

For example, the IDF would have to be exclusively responsible for the entire territory west of the River Jordan, and the Jordanian army would be responsible for territories east of it.

Since the Palestinian state would border only Israel and Jordan, its contribution to confederate security could be the deployment of a well-defined force, for instance along the confederate-Saudi border (in a manner non-threatening to both Israel and Jordan).

Confederate security arrangements could allow Israel to share intelligence stations, and eventually even assign some army and air force units to the Jordanian-Syrian and Jordanian-Iraqi borders, providing the strategic depth Israel has always longed for.

Another confederate power could be the implementation of a single market and a Palestinian "Marshall Plan" aimed at raising

ities, such a plan could be workable, and its cost acceptable.

This "Marshall Plan" could also tackle the thorny problem of the Palestinian refugees, rehabilitating them entirely in their current places of residence.

Preventing their entry into the territory west of the river could be agreed upon within a demographic status-quo arrangement, in exchange for Israel's agreeing to limit the growth of associated settlement blocks inside Palestinian territory to their natural rate (this would not apply to annexed territories).

No peace accord should negate the Zionist ethos. Accordingly, the confederation's constitution would have to recognize Zionism's principal allegiance to the entire historic Land of Israel. Some might even argue that the Palestinian state should, therefore, be binational.

WHY is such a plan both workable and advantageous?

left to offer:

The prime minister seems to be taking a defensive posture and hoping for the best. But the result can only be a PR fiasco, inviting more pressure on him to take a few more steps down the plank "to keep the process going."

If he were to go on the offensive, coming out and insisting on Palestinian confidence-building measures as a precondition for further progress, then maybe — just maybe — this walk-the-plank process could turn into a true peace process.

The writer directs IMRA (Independent Media Review & Analysis).

Bedfellows — like it or not

Major stumbling blocks between Israel and the Palestinians — like Har Homa and Jerusalem — are usually perceived as a "zero-sum game," one side's gain being inevitably the other side's loss. But this need not be.

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Since Palestinian society is relatively small, and since the Palestinian people's role vis-a-vis their leadership is meaningful compared with other Arab soci-

Israel would be taking no further security risks, and any shortcoming or omission would not make its position "on the ground" any worse than the existing one. On the contrary, we would enjoy — and improve — early-warning capabilities, and our "defense border" would be pushed further to the east.

Moreover, the aided emergence of an educated, mortgage-paying Palestinian society would be just the kind of structural change that could lead to a viable peace.

The Palestinian leadership would enjoy respectability and honor, as equals of their Israeli and Jordanian peers; and the improved economic and social environment would weaken that leadership's prime challengers, the Moslem fundamentalists.

The Palestinian people would prosper from their "Marshall Plan." They would also not be humiliated by a "non-state" status, demilitarization (anyway unenforceable), or a total detachment from Jerusalem. The destabilizing effect of such dishonor cannot be overestimated.

The Hashemites would enjoy Israeli protection against Iraq and Syria, both of which aspire to subjoin Jordan. They would also gain from the channeling of their Palestinian subjects' national aspirations to the confederate framework, thereby strengthening their grip on Trans-Jordan.

Curiously, the architecture of this innovative plan could revive Jabotinsky's vision of "both banks of the Jordan River," historically a single geographical and political unit.

Oded Tira, a former IDF brigadier-general, is president of Phoenicia America-Israel. Ron Tira, former head of a section in IAF intelligence, practices corporate law.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ADOPT THE GENTILE

Sir, — Jews are marrying non-Jews in the Diaspora simply because they become normal and fully accepted citizens of the general society in most of the countries in which they live. As a matter of fact, it is rather amazing that close to 50% of them still manage to marry coreligionists when Jews constitute less than one quarter of 1% of the "pool" of available mates! Chances are, however, that this proportion will continue to decrease.

If we are concerned about the continuity of Judaism in the Diaspora, the statistic to look at is the percentage of children of mixed couples that remain Jewish. A determining factor in the decision of which religion to bring up the children will be the way the non-Jew is received by

the Jewish family and the Jewish community.

Basically, Jewish people will have to make a decision when confronted with this kind of situation: Reject the Jew or adopt the Gentile? Conversion is not essential if the non-Jewish parent accepts that the children will receive a Jewish education (and will be converted if the mother is the non-Jew). The essential part, however, is the warmth and sincere acceptance extended to the newcomer by the community. Without this, the near disappearance of the Jewish people in the Diaspora will be a classic case of the self-fulfilling prophecy.

HAIM GLOTTMAN

Jerusalem.

AMUSEMENT PARK

Sir, — The Har Homa controversy gives us an opportunity to create a community of coexistence, rather than a neighborhood of strife.

Jerusalem is conspicuously lacking in permanent recreational areas for its growing and young population. Let us use the site for a mini-amusement park, for the enjoyment of all ethnic groups: Jews — secular and haredi — and Arabs.

The main attraction could be a miniature train ride — aptly named the "peace train" — winding its way along the picturesque scenery, bearing delighted passengers of all ages. There could also be a miniature golf course,

rollerblading course, rides, concessions and so on.

The "Peace Train Park" can be planned and financed by both Jews and Arabs, in a partnership of the public and private sector.

Once this bone of contention is behind us, I am sure we can find other areas to build homes — areas that can be negotiated to avoid any future flashpoints. And those residential developments would never be transformed into symbols of enmity, and never become permanent targets for potential violence or vandalism for years to come.

BUZZY GORDON

Jerusalem.

TWIN PRINCIPLES

Sir, — For 50 years, declared Arab policy at its most enlightened has been "What's mine is mine, what's yours is negotiable."

And recently Israeli negotiators have waived our legitimate rights in the Sinai in hopes of keeping the West Bank; then in the West Bank, in hopes of keeping the Golan; and then in the Golan, in hopes of keeping Jerusalem.

Now, the theory is that by waiving our rights to part of Jerusalem

we will keep the rest of it off the negotiating table.

But as long as history here is driven by the twin principles that we, as good Jews, cannot claim territory to the exclusion of Arabs, while they, as good Arabs, must be masters wherever they live, we will lose in negotiations even over the partition of Tel Aviv.

MARK L. LEVINSON

Herzliya.

ZIONIST RELIC

Sir, — There is no question that building on Har Homa contradicts the spirit of the Oslo agreements. And Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu will have to face that contradiction.

The spirit behind Oslo is that Israel of the 1990s is vulnerable to violence and terror in a way that never was in the past. That spirit has created a political culture that says that if the Arabs want something badly enough to kill Jews (or even to threaten to), then after appropriate hemming and hawing, we will give it to them. Building on Har Homa seems to be saying that we are prepared to fight that spirit and stand up to terror like some Zionist relic of the 1970s. For some reason I suspect that the prime minister is not up to that task.

ISRAEL PICKHOLTZ

Blazar.

SEMITES

Sir, — Apropos of the Egyptian foreign minister, as reported in *The Jerusalem Post* of March 9, to the effect that Arabs, hence Egyptians and Palestinians, cannot be anti-Semites, since they are Semites themselves, see the following secret Nazi order of May 17, 1943:

"When the Grand Mufti visited Reichsleiter [Alfred] Rosenberg, the Reichsleiter promised to instruct the press that the word 'antisemitism' was henceforth to be abandoned. This term seemed to include the Arab world which, according to the Grand Mufti, was overwhelmingly pro-German. The Allies utilize your use of that term in order to falsify the argument that it is the national socialist intention to view Jews and Arabs in the same light."

EMIL L. FACKENHEIM

Jerusalem.

CAMOUFLAGE WALLS

Sir, — Jon Immanuel in "A different view of Oslo" (March 14), raises yet another dire consequence of Har Homa construction: the resultant buildings will be visible from Bethlehem. Perhaps all the walls in Israel which Arabs can see should be camouflaged so as not to be distressingly visible to them.

FRANCINE FIERSTEIN

Jerusalem.

Bright lights and bitter music

SUSAN HATTIS ROLEF

This rugged, grim-faced former general, the more I feel that of all Likud leaders, he is the one I would most welcome as prime minister. And I have a sneaking feeling that the Arab leaders would welcome him too.

In contrast, Benjamin Netanyahu's appearances after the murderous attack left a bitter taste. The man

Hezi Cohen, father of slain Keren, as he complained to security men that his friends were not being allowed anywhere near the open grave. "I want them here, not him."

THE premier's security arrangements are becoming more than just a nuisance.

According to Ha'aretz's Yoel

When massive security adds to a family's grief, it's time for official rethinking

lacks all spontaneity, and the excessive security around him only added to the unpleasant impression.

At least two bereaved families protested bitterly at the bright lights and stringent measures that accompanied the prime minister to four of the funerals.

"This is a funeral, not a performance by the prime minister," cried

Marcus, before Netanyahu's departure for Russia last week security men put soldiers in the guard of honor through a stringent check involving metal detectors, body searches, and removal of ammunition from their guns.

One can understand the GSS's hysteria after it failed to keep Yitzhak Rabin alive. But if the only

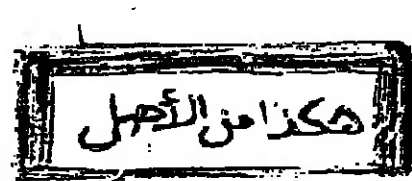
way it can protect Netanyahu is by degrading others, perhaps the prime minister should stay home.

Who threatens his life? Ironically, the same people from whose midst Rabin's assassin emerged. They are a negligible minority with no Knesset representatives, people who would have applauded had last week's attack been by an Israeli on Arabs.

So why isn't anything being done to uproot these "wild weeds"? Perhaps it's because the authorities are so busy investigating public figures accused of bad faith and corruption, and the public cares more about the growing secular-religious kulturkampf.

These are important. But we must not lose sight of the fact that our real enemies are the Baruch Goldsteins, the Yigal Amirs, the Hamas terrorists, and deranged soldiers who take it upon themselves to change the course of history with a bullet.

The writer is a political scientist.



Common Currency

Do Francs and Yen Corrupt? Absolutely.

By CRAIG R. WHITNEY

PARIS
THE American system of regulating campaign and party finances, to plagiarize Winston Churchill, is probably the worst of any big industrial democracy's, except for all the rest. Nothing the Democratic Party ever dreamed of doing in the 1996 campaign seems to have come close to the things virtually every party in Italy, Japan and France had been doing for years before the late 1980's, when people finally said they'd had enough and demanded change, much as Americans did after Watergate.

The repercussions are still being felt in Italy, where the parties who had run Governments for 50 years were so completely discredited that they collapsed, and in Japan, where the dominant party is staggering. In France, the widespread corruption of mainstream parties is one reason for the rise of the far-right National Front.

Money and political power are inevitably attracted to each other, and until recently Europeans seemed more willing than Americans to accept this idea cynically. But this

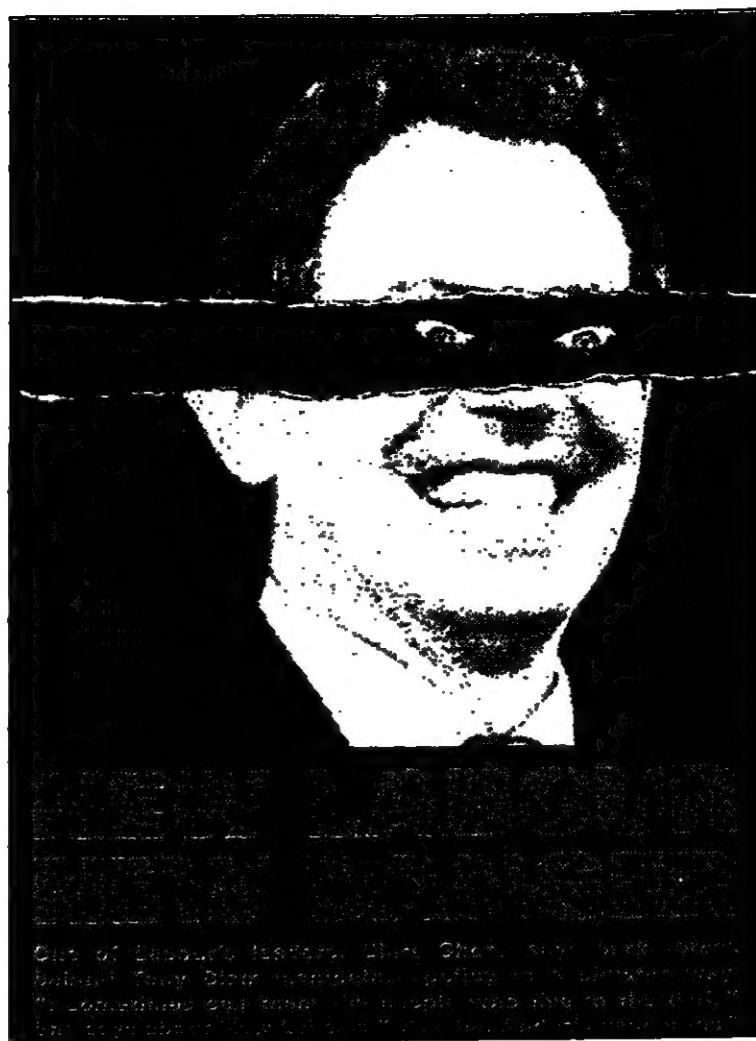
is changing. As American voters have become more blasé about events like the current scandals in Washington, Europeans have been moving closer to the American sense that laws and regulations are needed to keep things from going out of control.

In fact, any idea being suggested in America for regulating spending and donations has probably already been tried in Europe, where campaigns don't cost anywhere near as much. The surprise is that money still seems to corrupt politics even more here than it does in the United States.

One problem is that the spirit behind such laws is as important as the letter. What's wrong, the weekly Moscow News asked last week, with President Clinton inviting big donors to spend a night in the Lincoln bedroom at Democratic Party expense, compared to the hunting expeditions, sauna parties and flights on Kremlin planes that President Boris N. Yeltsin treats his supporters to at the Russian taxpayers' expense?

"There is a receipt, a bill, a memo, after every step you take in the United States," the newspaper's New York correspondent, Dmitri Radyshevsky, reported. "The Americans don't tempt other people by trusting in

Continued on page 4

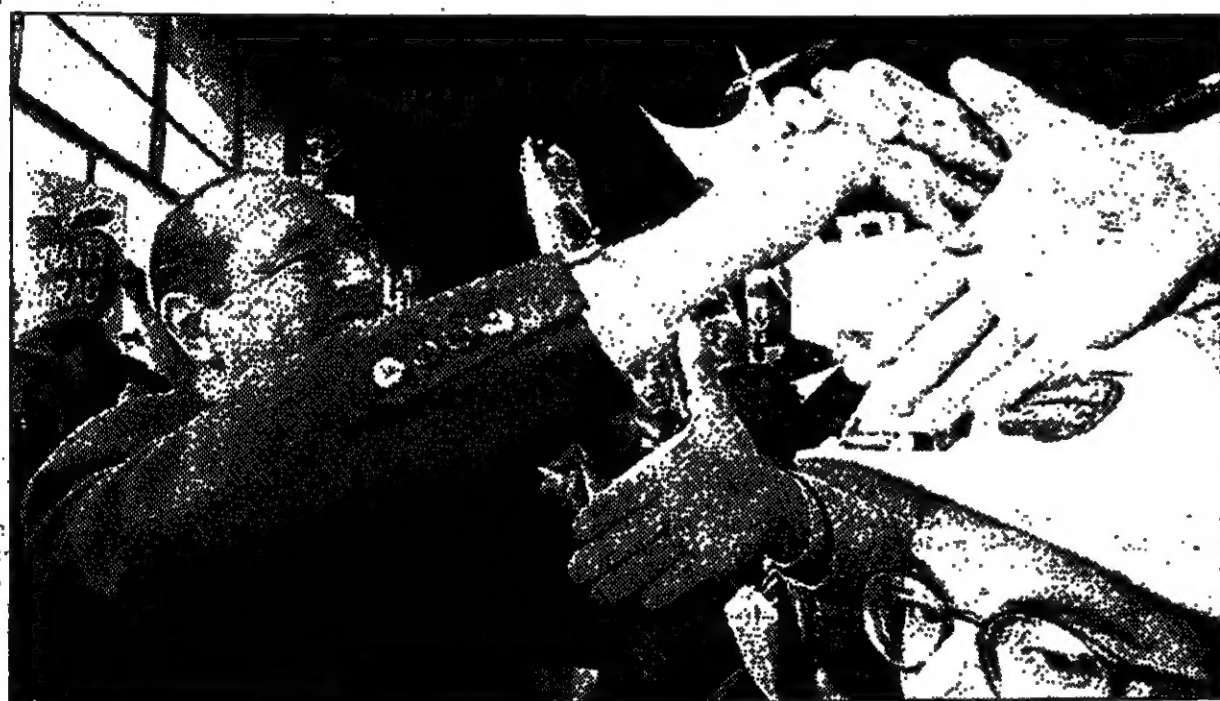


Out of Germany's history, Silvio Berlusconi, leader of the Italian media empire, is seen here in a 1994 campaign poster.

In Britain, Laissez-Faire
Britain has few laws to regulate campaign donations, which pay for advertising like this attack against Labor's leader, Tony Blair.

In Germany, State Funding

Germany has tried to control campaign abuses for years, but its courts, as in America, have barred some curbs on donations. Chancellor Helmut Kohl, left, and his unsuccessful challenger Rudolf Scharping on posters in 1994.



France Tries to Reform
Shakedowns led to campaign finance laws in France, where Jacques Chirac ran in 1995.



Collapse in Italy
Scandals brought down Italy's major parties. Here, posters for Silvio Berlusconi last April.

The H.M.O. Catch

When Healthier Isn't Cheaper

"Investing in preventive care is a cornerstone of our business because of the tremendous returns it provides... It keeps health care costs low by preventing serious illness and promoting a healthy lifestyle."
— U.S. Healthcare annual report

By ELISABETH ROSENTHAL

PREVENTION saves money," has become a refrain of managed care, repeated in ads and by H.M.O. executives so often that it has taken on the aura of truth. This wisdom, the industry's version of "a stitch in time saves nine," is backed by a certain logic: If managed care plans detect illness early and offer good preventive care, patients will remain healthier and will be cheaper to care for in the long term.

Presto! Health and profits are in perfect alignment. Patients get benefits like free immunizations and mammograms, even subsidized health-club memberships. H.M.O.'s, which care for patients for a fixed yearly fee, will incur fewer bills.

There is only one hitch: While studies have shown that preventive care is generally good for your health, they have also shown that it often does not save money.

The central problem is that the early detection of many diseases, like high cholesterol and H.I.V. infection, is often followed by a lifetime of costly treatments and drugs. Expensive hospitalizations may only be forestalled. So in many cases, total medical costs actually rise.

"An awful lot of preventive care has no payoff economically — it actually costs money," said Uwe Reinhardt, a health economist at Princeton University. "If the plans

are doing it, they're doing it because they think it gives them a good image. A lot of this stuff is overhyped."

To their credit, H.M.O.'s cover more "wellness care" than traditional insurance — and marketing departments know that even a small package of preventive services is a big draw. But health experts say consumers should not rest assured that the self-interest of the H.M.O.'s will lead them to provide top-notch early detection and prevention programs. As legislators around the country who are increasingly scrutinizing and regulating the H.M.O.'s have found, it does not.

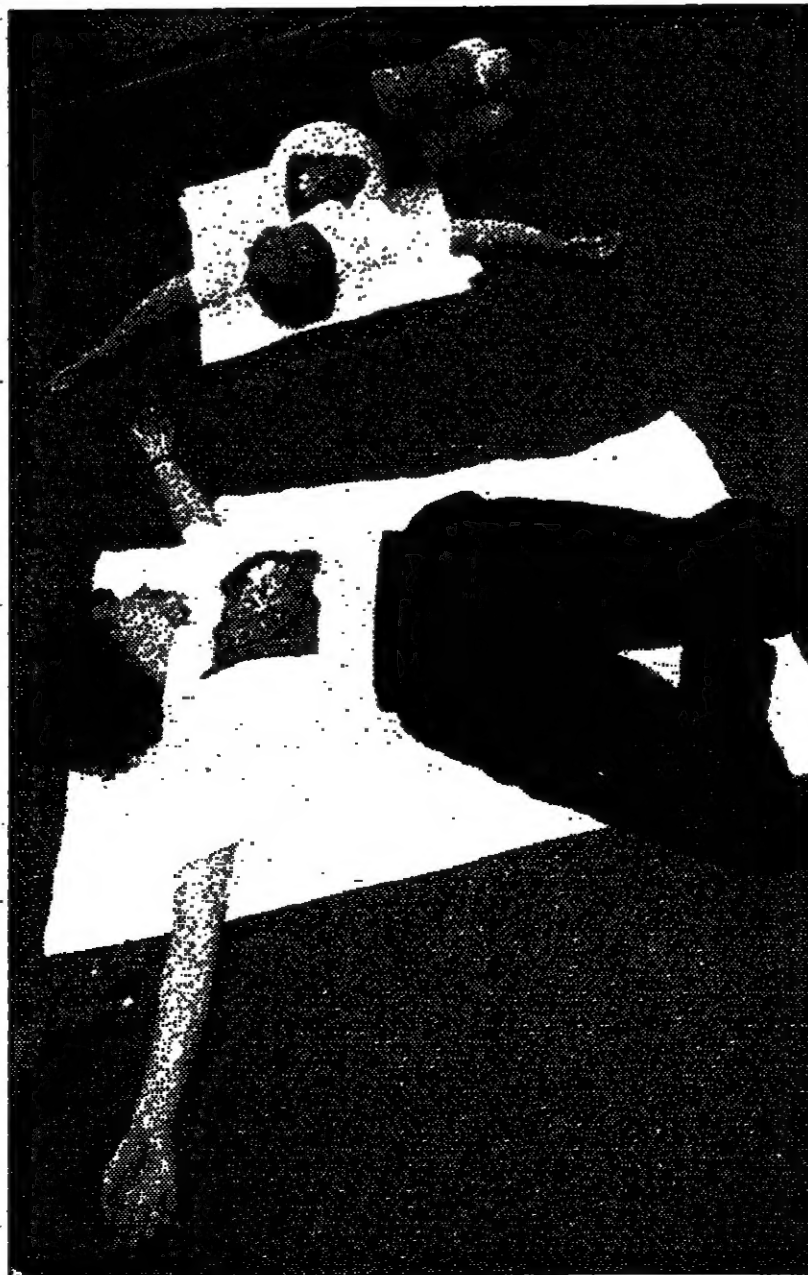
What's more, even in situations where good preventive care might save money in the long run, H.M.O.'s often have little incentive to act, since patients tend to change health plans every few years.

"If I run a commercial H.M.O. with Wall Street breathing down my neck and there is an intervention that cost me now but will save me money in 10 years, I won't do it," Dr. Reinhardt said. "Or I might do it if it wasn't too expensive and I could parlay it into a perception of quality."

Delayed Benefits

For example, studies have shown that diagnosing and treating high cholesterol in adults will ward off heart attacks and strokes as those patients age. But standard drug treatments for high cholesterol cost more than \$1,000 a year, and the big benefits do not accrue for well over a decade.

"If you are a company looking at what gives you a return on your investment, immunizations certainly have a payoff, and smoking cessation in pregnant women is probably also a slam dunk," said Dr. David Plocher,



H.M.O.-sponsored stress control at Griffin Hospital in Derby, Conn.

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Bill and Boris
Russians aren't
enemies now.
Or friends.

By Steven
Erlanger

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Silly Question
If the inflation
index is wrong,
why not scrap it?

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Uchitelle

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Society's Cure-All
How schools
resemble
chicken soup.

By Peter
Applebome

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Public Safety?

One agency rarely
repeats mishaps;
the other reports
every one.

By Matthew L. Wald

3

The World

Let Russia Feel Important (But Not Too Important)

By STEVEN ERLANGER

SO if the Russians aren't enemies any more, and they don't quite seem to be friends, what are they exactly?

Do they still have a central role in the American national psyche, let alone American foreign policy? Do Americans still fear them too much? Or are Americans taking the Russians too much for granted? Those questions have sharp significance this week at what seems another pivotal moment in American-Russian relations. President Clinton, hobbled after knee surgery last week, is preparing to meet in Helsinki on Wednesday and Thursday with the newly reanimated Russian President, Boris N. Yeltsin, after stage-setting meetings here between American officials and Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov. Moscow's opposition to NATO's enlargement is the contentious issue at hand. American attitudes to the Russians, and the Russians' view of the United States and their own changed circumstances, are an important part of the negotiating equation.

The central reality underlying the meeting is Russia's diminished stature. Although Russia still counts — it is, after all, a nuclear power capable of destroying the United States — it is much weakened, and therefore doesn't count as much. To negotiate successfully with Mr. Yeltsin, as well as to hedge against the future, Mr.

Clinton's challenge is to give a resentful Moscow respect it may no longer deserve.

Clinton needs to find ways to allow Mr. Yeltsin to convince the Russians that they do still matter — that Washington and NATO are willing to give Moscow a prominence and deference that it may no longer deserve.

It's a downer for Moscow, for it used to be that its importance needed no inflating. Russia was the true American nightmare — evoked in the Superman Soviet boxer confronting Rocky Balboa, or in the film "Invasion of the Body Snatchers," which many took as an allegory for insidious Russian Communism, or in maps of the world coated creeping red from Vietnam and Ethiopia to Cuba and Central America.

Just as important, perhaps, ordinary Russians took a certain pride in the fear they engendered. Fear meant respect, and the Soviet Union insisted that Washington treat Moscow not only as a superpower but as an equal.

It was a form of acceptance, however twisted, for a society that missed the Enlightenment and was never even considered a European country, let alone a European power, until the 18th century and Peter the Great.

But now the Russians, more than anyone else, are deeply conscious and resentful of their fall. The great payoff from the West that was supposed to come with

their abandonment of Soviet Communism has not materialized. Capitalism has stoked no great industrial boom; foreign investment remains desultory, especially when compared with the money flowing to a still nominally Communist China; a vulgar, nouveau riche class of criminals and kleptocrats seems to dominate the still-feudal Government; Eastern Europe is fleeing into the arms of NATO, the former enemy — and Russia, rather than being welcomed by the West as a partner, is still excluded.

Distrust

A Russian official in Moscow said there was a growing feeling "that nothing we are doing is working the way it should, that nothing we do is ever quite enough, and that we may be a historically failed civilization."

The Russians see NATO enlargement as evidence of their decline, and of Washington's eagerness — despite soothing words of partnership — to take advantage of Russian weakness and change the map of Europe. Peter Reddaway of George Washington University, who has analyzed polls by the All-Russian Center for Public Opinion and Market Research, says most Russians associate the chaos of their lives with an American plan to destroy the Soviet Union and turn Russia into a source of cheap natural resources for the West.

The Russian Government isn't much more trusting. It clearly doesn't know how to react to the plan to enlarge NATO — with invitations in July to the first group of countries, probably Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic — and NATO's parallel offer to Russia of a cooperative charter, regular consultation and new limits on conventional forces in Europe. Mr. Primakov mixes talk of cooperation with bluster and threat in a time-tested fashion, trying to extract what concessions Russia can from the West before NATO enlarges in any event, while still holding on to all options: make a deal now, make a deal later or make no deal at all.

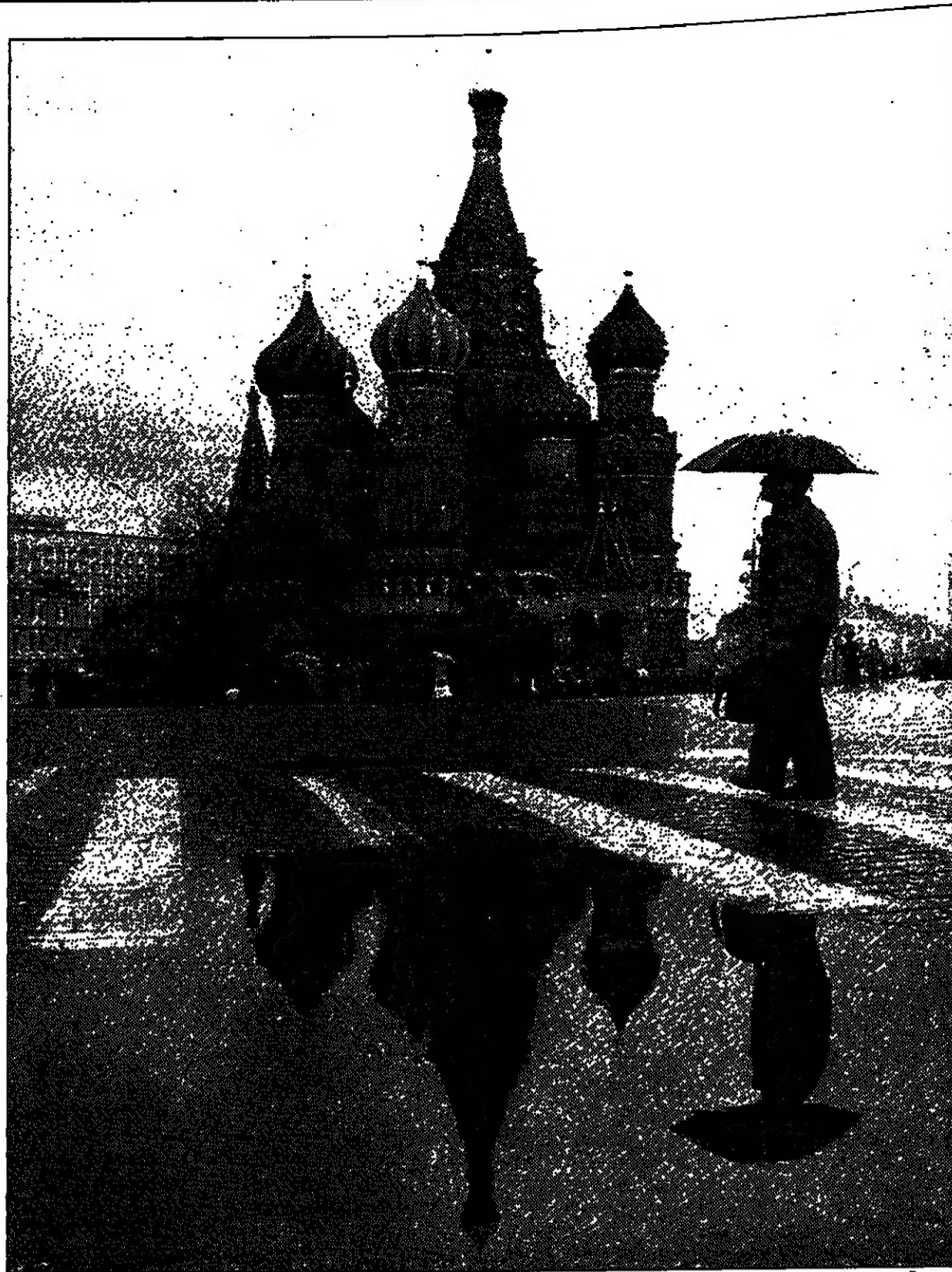
The decision, in the end, will be Mr. Yeltsin's, and it will depend a lot on what he thinks of "my friend Bill," as he calls the President — and what he thinks his friend Bill thinks of him.

"Russia was our enemy, and then the Russians were sold to us as our friends and partners," says Angela Stent of Georgetown University. "But there has been a lot of disillusion on both sides. I suppose the Russians are 'ambivalent partners' — and the ambivalence is also felt on both sides."

Americans lament the messy transition in Russia despite significant (if sometimes misdirected) efforts at aid and advice. The replacement of a Communist elite by one of shady businessmen, corrupt bureaucrats and criminals isn't the way Washington imagined it. Even Russia's advocates in the Clinton Administration are reluctant to say that Russia has "made the leap successfully," said Ms. Stent. "The Russians are still in the middle, unpredictable and annoying."

Traditionally, the two schools of Soviet studies were the one that viewed Russia as inclined to totalitarianism, most notably led by Richard Pipes and Martin Malia, and the school that saw it evolving pluralistically, most identified with Stephen F. Cohen — and which saw Mikhail S. Gorbachev as a democratizing hero.

Michael McFaul, a Russian scholar at Stanford University, says both schools are still very much in



A lone stroller in Red Square. Russia is reflective as it ponders its image on the world stage.

session. The totalitarian school still has a negative reaction to Russia, "warning the world to keep its powder dry," Mr. McFaul said. The pluralist school also hates the new order and Mr. Yeltsin, because he betrayed Mr. Gorbachev and a tidier transition.

Resentment

The Russians feel insufficiently appreciated for casting off Communism and ending the threat of nuclear Armageddon. They are also resentful that Washington did not somehow freeze the world as it was in 1992, while they tried to reorder their society. With NATO expansion and American plans for advanced new missile defenses

under way, many Russians believe Washington is working to perpetuate Moscow's humbled status. "The Russians see us pushing Star Wars II in the air and NATO expansion on the ground," a senior American official said, "and they hate it."

Gregory F. Treverton, Director of International Security at Rand, said, "Russia weakened so quickly, it couldn't stand in our way as we moved to create a Europe in our own image." Still, he said, "It's useful that our mindset has lagged behind events. We have leftover sympathy for superpowers and some leftover paranoia about the Russian threat. But it's good, because it means we pay some more attention to them and their sensibilities."

Madness Meets Politics

Gunmen Can Act Alone. But Not Entirely.

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

IMMEDIATELY after a Jordanian soldier opened fire on a group of Israeli schoolgirls Thursday, two notions quickly spread here: one, that he was unstable, and two, that he had been driven to his terrible act by the rise in political tensions. Israelis charged that it was the bitter personal letter that Jordan's King Hussein sent to Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu last week, accusing the Israeli of destroying progress toward peace, that must have incited the man to his deed; Palestinians said that Israeli provocations had prompted the letter, and that Israel was therefore to blame.

The suggestions have a resonance far beyond the little piece of land in the Jordan Valley where seven Jewish girls were killed by a presumably deranged Arab man. When a suicidal Palestinian man cites anti-American clichés as his reason for opening fire on innocent people atop the Empire State Building or when a Jewish nationalist assumes that religion justifies assassinating an Israeli Prime Minister, or when extremists translate public resentment of government into a reason to blow up a Federal building in Oklahoma City with hundreds of people inside, it is worth asking: How does the act of any madman fit into what the rest of the world knows as politics? Can mainstream politicians be held to account for triggering the rage of the unstable?

Consider the case of Ahmed Mousa al-Daqamseh, the 26-year-old Jordanian Army driver arrested in the shootings last week.

First, the Recriminations

The recriminations came before anything was even known about him. But they were as predictable as the setting of the sun. For one thing, the political atmosphere in recent days had been feverish, with dire warnings and mutual hurlings of blame. For another, many of the terrible acts of violence in Israel's history have been committed by lone, troubled men either driven to murderous hatred by the endless confrontations or convinced that an act of cataclysmic terror was the only avenue left to reverse a course they firmly believed to be catastrophic.

And, as happened last week, many of these acts were followed by charges of "incitement" leveled at political opponents. It is the kind of charge that often follows such an



Noam Friedman, a mentally disturbed Israeli soldier, opened fire in Hebron on Jan. 1.

event — a charge often meant to turn public rage against the opposition, rather than help the public cope with what has happened.

The most noteworthy example came after the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin by a religious Jewish nationalist, Yigal Amir. Mr. Rabin's followers accused Mr. Netanyahu, then head of the opposition, of indirectly encouraging Mr. Amir by not doing enough to block the feverish rhetoric of right-wing extremists. Mr. Netanyahu angrily dismissed the charges as character assassination, drawing a firm distinction between his words and the assassin's act.

But whether such charges are fair or not, Israeli psychologists acknowledge an indisputable link between such solitary acts of extreme violence and the political temperature of the moment. "They are all different persons who do different things, but they are people who feel they must act, that they must take some violent action to change things," said Dr. Yair Carlos Bar-El, a leading psychiatrist for Jerusalem.

For such a person to act requires something more — an atmosphere of violence and tension, and a weapon, he said. "Without the right atmosphere, I don't know of a single case where such things happened," Dr. Bar-El said. "You also need a weapon. Perhaps that's more technical, but without a weapon



One of the bullets that hit Yitzhak Rabin.

at hand, the moment might pass." In the case of the Jordanian soldier, what pushed him to murder is not yet known — whether it was a sense that his beloved king had been insulted, or religious fervor, or a personal sense of humiliation. But to the experts, the atmosphere was as indisputable a factor as the automatic weapon this unarmed driver grabbed from a comrade and emptied at the girls.

"It's not a coincidence that this happened on the Jordanian border, not the border with Egypt, because the latest friction, the ex-



An Israeli girl who survived last week's shooting is comforted by her father.

change of accusations, was with Jordan," said Simha F. Landau, a psychologist who heads the Institute of Criminology at the Hebrew University Faculty of Law. He said his studies show a direct link between security-related stress and levels of violence. "If the atmosphere changes, if there is an atmosphere of violence, of belligerence, all those who are borderline, who are less stable, who have less control, they cross the line."

In Israel and its neighbors, crisis and danger are virtually a way of life. But the stress can rise dramatically when there is a violent swing in politics or ideology, as when euphoria over prospects for peace is cut short by a new brutal confrontation.

Who Is Next?

That raised further questions — whether the next murderous fanatic could be identified in advance, or the public discourse brought under sufficient control to avoid triggering him or her. Alas, one characteristic of past perpetrators was precisely their quiet, unassuming facade. Noam Friedman, the mentally disturbed Israeli Army clerk who tried to shoot up the Hebron market on Jan. 1, was nobody's image of a killer; nor was Dr. Baruch Goldstein, the settler who killed 29 Muslims at prayer in Hebron in

1994, nor most of the others before them. The stereotype of a Palestinian suicide bomber also paints a loner, eaten away by feelings of grievance, humiliation and threat. Yigal Amir may have been less hidden in his intentions, but he too apparently nurtured a feeling of estrangement and a sense of mission.

When such a loner explodes, the action can stun people into temporary unity. "Perhaps we should not look for any good results from such tragic events, but this act may have a sobering effect," Shimon Shamir, until recently the Israeli ambassador to Jordan, said after the shooting last week. "It brings out what unites us. Facing the threat of violence and extremism somewhat dwarfs political differences."

Indeed, left-wing Israeli politicians put off a no-confidence vote, King Hussein asked to visit the families of victims, and Yasser Arafat telephoned Mr. Netanyahu and said it might be time to meet. But if the killings did impose a moment of horrified sobriety, it did not seem likely to linger. On Friday, Israel's Cabinet unanimously decided to proceed with building a new Jewish neighborhood in East Jerusalem, despite warnings from all Israeli security officials that violence would follow.

The Nation

Measuring Inflation: Can't Do It, Can't Stop Trying

By LOUIS UCHITELLE

THE votes are in and, not surprisingly, they are unanimous: the Consumer Price Index fails to measure inflation accurately. For many economists, fixing the problem is a technical matter, and they argue over the degree of inaccuracy and how to fix it.

But what if the problem isn't technical at all? What if it's social? What if Americans have grown so heterogeneous — so separated by incomes, life-styles, what they purchase and where they shop — that no single cost of living index, no matter how carefully honed, can measure inflation accurately?

A commission of economists named for its chairman, Michael J. Boskin of Stanford University, opened that Pandora's box last December when it reported to Congress that the Consumer Price Index greatly exaggerated the actual inflation rate. But intruding in the debate over whether the commission is right is a different concern, one that has long lurked in the background: If a single index cannot accurately capture the American experience, then maybe the whole complex system of using only one index to adjust Social Security benefits and other Federal outlays should be dismantled.

That may be the intellectually honest thing to do, but it is not likely to happen. The Consumer Price Index, which measures the changing cost of a basket of goods and services purchased by an "average" American household, has become as much a political tool as it is an economic yardstick. It has been used increasingly to adjust not only Social Security but payments to the poor, income tax deductions, military pensions and other Federal outlays. As inflation rises, so do they, automatically.

An Easy Out

Without the crutch of the C.P.I., the Administration and Congress would have to decide, on their own, how to divvy up the Government pie. Restraining military pensions? Imagine the uproar. Cut back annual increases in Social Security pensions? Congress would have to take a vote. No wonder, when the Boskin Commission said that the C.P.I. overstates inflation by 1.1 percentage points — a considerable amount — the White House and many in Congress embraced the finding, ignoring growing evidence that the commission's views were faulty. The politicians saw an easy way to cut the budget. Shrink the



Diane Belaguer of the Bureau of Labor Statistics checking prices in a discount drug store in 1995 for the Consumer Price Index.

C.P.I. and, presto, billions in Federal outlays also shrink. The Clinton Administration even considered appointing still another commission that would actually adjust the C.P.I. downward, but shelved that idea last week as politically too dangerous.

"If they want to cut entitlements, just do it," said Stephen S. Roach, chief economist at Morgan Stanley & Company. "Don't pretend that a statistically pure C.P.I. exists."

The problem with the current system is that a single index probably fails to represent the inflation experiences of most Americans. At a recent Senate hearing, Senator Robert F. Bennett, Republican of Utah, said as much, questioning whether his cost of living, as he edges into old age, could be meaningfully averaged with those of his children as they buy homes and start families.

The Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics, testing a separate C.P.I. for the elderly, found inflation rising faster for this group than the national index suggests; the elderly spend heavily on health care, whose costs are rising.

"If you want to talk about cost of living," said Robert Pollak, an economist at Washington University, "you have to face up to the question of whose cost of living you are measuring." But producing several C.P.I.'s simultaneously would be expensive and impractical. Which groups would be measured? One index, presumably, would be for the elderly. Social Security pensions would then be pegged to this C.P.I. But there are rich and poor elderly, and each group might have different experiences with inflation.

The Bureau constructs its national C.P.I. from a survey of the expenditures of 5,000 households from all strata of society. As part of the process, the Bureau measures price changes for the merchandise these families tend to purchase, at the stores they seem to frequent. The procedure tries to determine how much more people have to pay to maintain their standard of living. But it is skewed toward measuring the inflation experiences of the biggest spenders — the rich, younger families — because the Bureau bases its calculations on total outlays for each type of merchandise, not outlays per household.

Multiple C.P.I.'s — for the elderly, poor and other groups with their own spending patterns — would mean surveying several thousand people for each new index, an expense Congress has resisted. So the Bureau, in trying since 1983 to simulate an index for

the elderly, at Congress's request, used the survey at hand, altering only the "weights." But that approach is inconclusive. The elderly, for example, might be buying polyester pants at neighborhood stores where polyester prices are falling while young people might be traveling to malls to buy jeans that are rising in price. These are two different cost of living experiences. The Bureau survey, however, does not break down these purchases by age groups. It assumes that the elderly and the young buy the same mix of jeans and polyester. The Bureau's experimental index for the elderly only changes the weighting, giving less importance to pants prices if those purchases represent only a small portion of the elderly's total spending.

Avoiding Risk

Given these unknowns, the Bureau of Labor Statistics might find, if it surveyed the elderly separately, that a new C.P.I. based on this survey rose more slowly than its current experimental index. Recognizing this possibility, the American Association of Retired Persons recently gave up its demand for a separate elderly index; now it lobbies instead against cutting the existing C.P.I.

The Boskin Commission, and many in the Administration and in Congress, are determined to maintain a single index as the guidepost for adjusting Federal payments. They insist that, over the long run, nearly everyone experiences roughly the same inflation rate, even with different purchases. "You have to start with the assumption of an average American," said Zvi Griliches, a Boskin Commission member.

Economists are just beginning to test, and challenge, that assumption. Ariel Pakes of Yale, for example, found that large cars, favored by large families, and expensive cars, favored by the wealthy, have risen much more rapidly in price than smaller or less expensive cars. Such findings undercut the concept of an average American, but they would also complicate construction of separate indexes. Should large families constitute a separate C.P.I. group?

These concerns remained in the background through the early 1970's, when the representative family was a much less challenged concept, and the C.P.I. was not so important in adjusting Federal outlays. "There have always been doubts," said Alan Krueger, a Princeton University economist, "but there was a kind of social compact that made the single C.P.I. acceptable."

Planes and Nuclear Plants

Why Safety Is Not Always So Public

By MATTHEW L. WALD

IMAGINE two Government agencies, each responsible for insuring the safety of industries the public regards with more than a touch of dread. Each is financed by the industry it regulates, and each is staffed mostly by veterans of the kinds of operations they now inspect and evaluate.

Each says its industry is safe and each believes that the public doesn't understand the complex array of safety issues anyway. But one seldom says anything in public about the companies it regulates, and the other issues regular report cards. Why?

This is not a hypothetical. The agencies are the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which regulates nuclear power plants, and the Federal Aviation Administration, which oversees airlines.

The F.A.A. makes few announcements about airline safety lapses. Outside of giving some details of minor mishaps, it says little; if a crash occurs, the agency says nothing. Full disclosure might frighten people needlessly, it believes.

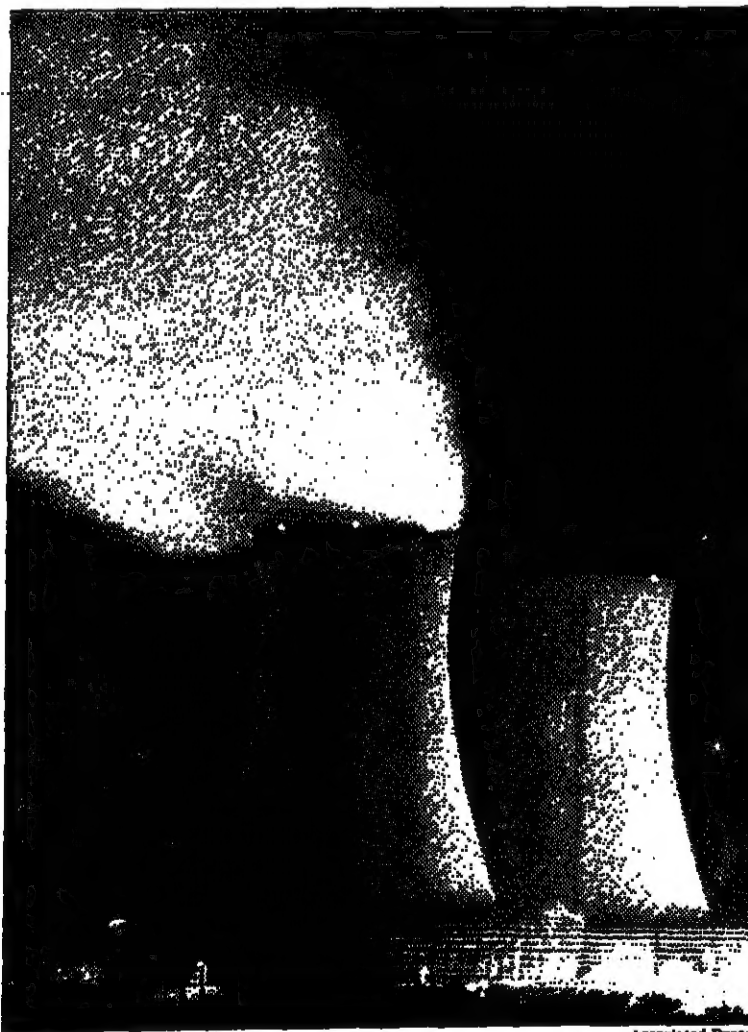
The N.R.C. goes as far as publishing lists of workaday mishaps (like a worker falling off a ladder). It monitors trends of minor events and publishes these findings in the conviction that problems resulting in no injuries and no damage can indicate management flaws affecting safety.

The approaches are so different that it is hard to believe they come from the same Government. But the differences may illustrate how commerce, safety and public information come into play: the more difference an industry makes in a day-to-day commercial sense, the less the public will find out from Government about safety.

Not that the Government is silent about the airlines. For years anybody with a Web browser has been able to compare the risk, airline by airline, of lost bags or a late plane.

But unlike the F.A.A., the Nuclear Regulatory Commission publishes an assessment of each of the 109 power reactors it licenses and twice a year it identifies the worst reactors and the utility companies with management problems.

In January, on a day when the N.R.C. was giving one of its semiannual briefings on the problems among the companies it regulates, the F.A.A. announced that it was opening up — sort of. The agency said it would begin reporting big fines that it formerly kept quiet. On Friday the F.A.A. announced that it was proposing to fine Alaska Airlines more than half a million dollars for improperly modifying a landing gear. It will put details of airline mishaps on the Web rather than making them available only by Freedom of



A nuclear generating station at Limerick, Pa.

One agency rarely reports mishaps; the other reports every one.

Information Act requests. But the safety information will not be as useful for comparison as the lost-bag statistics, officials warned, because the agency will not rank the airlines or identify problem ones unless it actually shuts them down.

The F.A.A. has never grounded a major airline and seldom chastises them publicly. On the other hand, the N.R.C. expressed doubts last month about the operating practices of the nation's biggest private operator of nuclear plants, Commonwealth Edison in Illinois; one of the biggest, Northeast Utilities in Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, has had most of its reactors on the Commission's list of problem children for months.

Like a conscientious teacher, the N.R.C. compares each reactor's performance, good and bad, to how it did in the previous 18-month marking period. But to the F.A.A., all comparisons are odious; it has seldom said anything about airline performance. It did, though, after the ValuJet crash last May because a memo that it prepared for Federico Peña, then Transportation Secretary, showing number of accidents per 100,000 departures, leaked out. So why the contrast?

Until the end of the last fiscal year, when the law changed, the agency both regulated aviation and promoted it. "The F.A.A. willingly embraces the dual mandate," said Sandra Allen, who was assistant administrator of the F.A.A. for public affairs until the middle of last year.

"The N.R.C. has solely and exclusively regulatory authority," said Ms. Allen, who is a spokesperson for Commonwealth Edison. The N.R.C., which was created 20 years ago in the breakup of the old Atomic Energy Commission, formerly promoted nuclear energy. That responsibility went to a separate agency now called the Department of Energy.

Among the lay critics of the N.R.C. — a group far more numerous than that criticizing the F.A.A. — many would disagree with Ms. Allen. They accuse the N.R.C. of codding the nuclear industry. But at least it uses the stick of public approbation on its charges.

Donald Engen, who has a foot in both camps, argues that the F.A.A. cannot use that stick. Mr. Engen, who was F.A.A. administrator from 1984 to 1987, later became a nuclear consultant.

"If you said American Airlines was number 7 of 10, my God, that would really be an economic hammer," Mr. Engen said. No one chooses one utility over another based on the N.R.C.'s performance rating, he said. (With the exception of stock and bond analysts, his statement is true.)

"When it's you sitting in an airplane, you view that as your life," he said. "It's more fraught with immediacy, and people conjure up the hazard. But you don't think about throwing the on-off switch on the nuclear power plant that might be in the next state."

But the difference extends to within the industries, too. Mr. Engen became a consultant to the Institute of Nuclear Power Operations, a group of utilities that seeks to improve troubled companies and clone "best practices" from one company to another.

It has no parallel in aviation. Mr. Engen, now director of the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum, said, "You don't really go to Company B, C and D and say, 'Company A has got a problem.' I don't know why, but you don't find people in the aviation business talking as openly as you do in the nuclear power industry."

When Healthier Isn't Cheaper

Continued From Page 1

a partner at Ernst and Young, the consulting firm. "But beyond that, our conversation is over. That's it."

Many H.M.O. executives insist that the payoff of a well-designed prevention program is higher.

Studies at Group Health of Puget Sound, an H.M.O. in Seattle, found that smoking cessation programs and mammography screening could be cost-effective, particularly when targeted at the groups most likely to benefit. Dr. Neal Sofian, an expert in preventive medicine who was until recently at Group Health, said great cost savings could be realized if a diabetic smoker could be made to quit, since such patients have astronomical rates of strokes and heart disease.

But even within the managed care companies, many advocates of prevention programs acknowledge that the financial benefits are overstated.

"I've been trying to promote prevention for years," said Dr. Robert G. Harmon, the medical director of prevention plans at United Health Care, which owns 45 H.M.O.'s nationwide. "But we really have to be specific that in some cases it costs more than it saves."

Still, Dr. Harmon said managed care plans considered these services a "good investment" because of the health benefits to patients. He added that the company's market research had shown that prevention programs were very important to subscribers.

Dr. Sofian said many valuable preventive services could never be justified on the basis of cost, and he was chagrined that some health care providers think about them in these terms. "You don't hear people asking about the cost benefit of a heart-lung transplant," he said. "You don't do it because it saves money. You do it because it's the right thing to do."

Health economists say managed care plans that regard economics as the driving force behind prevention tend to offer preventive care that is low cost (like rebates on the purchase of bike helmets) or high profile (like mammograms).

Patches and Reminders

Moreover, prevention programs advertised in glossy brochures sometimes have little substance, they say. The stop-smoking program at one large H.M.O. consists of a prescription for a nicotine patch — the cost of which is not covered by the plan — and 12 follow-up letters.

"For some companies this has become a marketing strategy as opposed to a medical strategy, and that gives prevention a bad name," Dr. Sofian said.

He and others predicted that managed care plans would improve their wellness care not because "prevention pays," but because employers would demand it.

Consider smoking cessation, for example. While patients who quit reduce their risk of heart disease, cancer and respiratory ailments over time, they also live longer and so are more likely to experience the complex medical problems of old age. Their lifetime medical costs actually rise.

But the economics of smoking looks different to the employer, who loses

Immunizations pay off. But H.I.V. screening can result in big bills.

valuable employees to death or disability and bears the costs of sick days and smoking breaks.

In some instances, prevention and early detection are so uneconomical that managed care plans are unlikely to act without significant prodding.

Doctors now urge that people at risk for H.I.V. be screened for the virus since there are now effective drug treatments to delay progression of the disease. But these drugs cost more than \$10,000 a year.

Susan M. Dooha, a senior policy analyst at Gay Men's Health Crisis, said doctors in health maintenance organizations were not taught or encouraged to screen members for the virus.

And subscriber booklets rarely mention programs for testing, even in areas with high rates of the disease. "Not all prevention is cheap — the plans don't treat all preventive services the same way," she said.

"Realistically, the only way a plan is going to screen for H.I.V. is if an employer said, 'We won't offer you a plan unless you do it,'" Dr. Reinhardt said. "From a purely economic standpoint, the smart strategy is not to screen, because a quick death from advanced AIDS is far more profitable than the long drawn-out maintenance of someone with early H.I.V."

Ideas & Trends

Better Schools, Uncertain Returns

By PETER APPLEBOME

FROM the dire warnings of educational and national decline in the "Nation at Risk" report in 1983 to President Clinton's full-court press on education as the key to national prosperity, the direct link between schooling and the economy has become part of the conventional wisdom of American education.

Education Secretary Richard W. Riley put it bluntly in his State of American Education Address last month: "Education is the engine that drives our economy." And as the earnings gap between brains and brawn grows ever larger, almost no one doubts the link between education and an individual's economic prospects.

But many educators and economists are increasingly skeptical of the notion that better schools mean a more prosperous nation. And as Mr. Clinton's education agenda makes its way through Congress — he promised that education would be the No. 1 priority of his second term — some wonder if overemphasis on the link between schools and jobs can tilt the public's view of education to an unhealthy degree — expecting too much in building the economy and not enough in developing intellects and personalities and ultimately citizens.

Fear of Decline

As for its economic effects, "I'm stunned by how unexamined that claim is," said Mike Rose, an education professor at the University of California at Los Angeles. "If you look at 100 years of industrial history, there's nothing close to the one-to-one link between education and the economy that we assume today. I think the way we think about education is terribly constrained by the assumption that we're in trouble, that we're in

decline, and that the decline is intimately, causally linked to what's wrong with education."

Mr. Rose, the author of "Possible Lives: The Promise of Public Education in America" (Houghton Mifflin, 1995), is quick to add that he believes that upgrading the skills and knowledge of America's children is closely linked to their economic prospects. And it is clear that the current focus on education reflects changes in the workplace that make education a more critical component of an individual's economic success than it was in the past.

Frank Levy, a professor of urban economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the author, with Richard Murnane, of "Teaching the New Basic Skills" (Free Press, 1996), notes that in 1979, a 30-year-old man with a high school diploma earned a yearly average of \$27,700 in 1993 dollars. By 1993 a high school graduate was only earning \$20,000.

Fifteen years ago, the typical worker with a college degree made 38 percent more than a worker with a high school diploma. Today, the typical college-educated worker makes 73 percent more.

But what holds true for individuals does not necessarily make a metaphor for the nation as a whole, most experts say.

"There is a relationship in how education helps individuals increase their skills and then helps these individuals get jobs," said Larry Cuban, an education professor at Stanford University. "But there's also a false kind of connection about how lower productivity in the economy, particularly in the late 70's and 80's, was somehow related to lower productivity in the schools."

The skeptics often start with the Reagan Administration's apocalyptic "A Nation at Risk" report, which said the nation has been "committing an act of unthinking, unilateral educational disarmament" that was putting



Campaigning for education, Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton, background, at Garrison Elementary in Washington last month.

its very future at risk.

But almost a decade and a half later, the nation's economy is performing, by many measures, extraordinarily well. In fact, it is dramatically outperforming Japan and Germany, often cited as countries with educational systems that the United States should be emulating.

Remembering Sputnik

Given that no one claims a sudden, dramatic increase in the quality of American education, critics of the report say that either the nation's schools are not as dismal as the "Nation at Risk" report indicated or the link between education and the economy is far more complicated than the conventional wisdom has it.

That wisdom is not entirely new.

"Same thing with Sputnik in 1957," said Richard Gibboney, an education professor at the University of Pennsylvania. "The Rus-

sians put a spaceship into orbit and instantly Mrs. Jones in the third grade was blamed for our presumed scientific lag in technology."

Most experts say corporate decisions, the economic aspects of the national culture, the vagaries of the business cycle and numerous other factors play a far greater role than education in the nation's economic success.

"The link between education and the national economy is pretty tenuous in all but the grossest sense — say the difference between developed and undeveloped countries," said Peter Cappelli, co-director of the National Center on the Educational Quality of the Workforce at the University of Pennsylvania. "Could you improve the economy by dramatically ratcheting up its average education level? Other than dropping a lot of Ph.D.'s on Rwanda, it's a very complicated argument."

Given the limitations of education as an agent of economic progress, some experts say linking education too closely with the

economy could engender false economic expectations at the same time it devalues many of the broader elements of schooling.

"Education does many things, from teaching kids how to read to teaching ethics and responsibility," said Mr. Gibboney. "If you focus too much on the economy, you squeeze out some of those other values. When businessmen get into the educational business, and they are focusing on the kind of workers they need, the curriculum becomes narrow, technical, de-liberal."

Still, if education alone can't guarantee national prosperity, the lack of it almost guarantees, for any one child, economic failure.

"It takes lots of things to get the train going," said Mr. Levy of M.I.T. "But the real question is who will be on the train? If you don't have a reasonable education, the chance of earning a decent salary today is very, very small."

The Yen Corrupts, Too

Continued From Page 1

their moral fiber. ... Even in the White House, every coffee cup with a donor is put down in a memo."

Not so in Russia, where candidates in last year's presidential elections could legally spend no more than \$2,887,500. Mr. Yeltsin's campaign reported spending \$2,884,357, but two top campaign consultants were caught trying to take a cardboard box with \$500,000 in cash out of the Russian Government headquarters. So few really believe the official disclosures.

Cynicism, the worst enemy of democracy, can be strengthened by regulations that seem to fly in the face of reality. Members of the United States Congress need a lot more money than European legislators do, mostly because of the cost of television and the need to campaign almost continuously in far-flung districts.

In Europe and Japan, candidates get campaigning time free on state-run television, and the official campaigns — the time for rallies, television ads and the like — are limited in duration. In Britain, they last only about three weeks; if Prime Minister John Major calls the next election there for May 1, as expected, he will not dissolve Parliament until early April.

British laws on campaign financing are mostly unwritten, like the British Constitution, and Mr. Major's Conservatives have always said that how they raise money, and from whom, is none of the public's business. The public seems to agree.

A former Conservative Party treasurer, Lord McAlpine, recently disclosed that Mr. Major had asked him in 1991 to solicit a donation of \$800,000 from a foreign business tycoon — identified by The Times of London as the Greek shipping magnate John Latsis, who has important business interests in Britain. But unlike the disclosures about donations the Democrats got from Asian contributors, the news barely raised eyebrows in Britain, for donations from foreigners are not illegal there.

Where there is no law, there is no crime, and until the late 1980's, France had no campaign finance law. So parties and politicians raised most of their money by almost openly shaking down contractors who did business with the municipalities the parties controlled. The shake-downs ranged between 1 and 7 percent of the value of the contracts, according to Thierry Jean-Pierre, one of the crusading French investigating magistrates who finally broke up the system by prosecuting officials for extortion and corruption after businesses complained that the squeeze had become too much to bear.

To try to clean things up, the French followed Germany's lead and passed laws that make taxpayers foot some campaign bills. French parties and candidates are now barred from soliciting companies for campaign funds, and can ask individuals for no more than about \$5,300. Foreign governments, but not foreign individuals, are barred from contributing, and there are limits on how much candidates may spend in the 12 months before an election. Candidates for the national legislature are now limited to about \$62,000, with the state paying up to half of that.

The state also finances the major political parties to the tune of about \$100 million a year — about what they had been taking in through shake-downs in the 1980's, according to Judge Jean-Pierre. But French law still has loopholes; it doesn't spell out exactly what campaign expenses are, and

the parties don't have to account for the public money they get.

Germany, like the United States, has long struggled with ways to allow individuals and companies to contribute. The courts, for example, have found most efforts to control contributions unconstitutional. In addition, in the 1980's, prosecutors uncovered a vast network of illegal corporate payments to the three major parties through tax-deductible donations to "charities" set up for the purpose.

Such scandals have helped change the German political landscape by contributing to the rise of the Green Party, which claims to be cleaner than the rest. Today, all parties are partly financed by public money, distributed according to a formula based on the number of votes they receive. German companies can donate what they want but can deduct none of it, and the parties must disclose the donors.

Germany's troubles pale next to those of Italy, where prosecutors have been picking at the web of corruption that tied all the established parties to business, and even to organized crime, for most of the half-century after World War II.

A cleaning contractor in Milan, indignant at being asked for the usual contribution in exchange for a contract by the

As Americans get blasé, Europeans start to worry.

Socialist Party official who ran a big home for the elderly, pulled the first thread in 1991 when he went to the police. The end result was the collapse of the entire post-war political system and the demise of the two dominant parties, the Christian Democrats and the Socialists.

Italy has rewritten its laws to provide a mix of public and private funds for parties and to limit spending by parliamentary candidates to \$55,000. (They can collect up to \$13,700 each from individuals or corporate donors.) Television advertisements are also banned for several weeks before elections. "The real corruptive factor of any political system is TV money," said Senator Gian Giacomo Migone of Turin.

Money scandals also helped end the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party's domination of postwar politics. Prosecutors raided the house of Shin Kanemaru, one of its key leaders, in 1993 and found \$25 million worth of securities, cash and gold in his safe; he had to resign after admitting getting a secret \$4 million donation from a transportation company. Outraged voters have since denied the Liberal Democrats a majority in Parliament, where a short-lived coalition government overhauled the campaign finance system, halting European lines in 1995.

The world over, it seems, governments can't outlaw the relationship between money and power any more than they can outlaw lust. But corruption — the dirty private deals made in secret between elected officials and big money that are not in the public interest — still flourishes best in the dark. And other countries, like the United States, are still groping for effective ways of shedding light on who gives what to whom.

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ECONOMY

Blowing the Whistle, and Now Facing the Music

By KURT EICHENWALD

AS he recuperated from kidney surgery last March, Richard A. Lundwall stared at the walls of his hospital room and stewed about how he was being treated by his longtime employer, Texaco Inc.

Weeks before, Mr. Lundwall had been unceremoniously forced out of his job in Texaco's finance department. Most colleagues ignored him; no one offered an official farewell on his last day. Mr. Lundwall even felt slighted by the company's failure to send a personal note during his stay at Danbury Hospital in Connecticut.

The events played through his mind again and again. As a former marine, Mr. Lundwall prided himself on his ability to confront adversity. But now, as his long career seemed to be dwindling to a depressing end at age 55, the bedridden executive felt powerless for the first time in his life.

And then it hit him: The tapes. He called his wife, Petria, at home and asked her to bring his tape recorder and the mini-cassettes he had stumbled across while cleaning out his office. Soon, he was excitedly sitting in bed, listening by earphone to the meetings he had secretly recorded years earlier when Texaco executives belittled minorities and plotted the destruction of documents demanded in a discrimination suit.

"I knew right then that if they ever were to make the light of day, those

tapes would be very embarrassing, to say the least, for Texaco," Mr. Lundwall said in a recent interview.

With that, Mr. Lundwall set the stage for a highly publicized scandal at Texaco, the international oil giant based in White Plains, N.Y. Months later, he turned the recordings over to the plaintiffs' lawyers in the discrimination suit brought on behalf of the company's minority employees. The cassettes quickly touched off a debate over the progress of minorities in corporate America, pushed Texaco into a record \$140 million settlement of the discrimination suit and led prosecutors to investigate the document destruction as a possible criminal act.

Lost amid the tumult that followed the disclosure of the tapes last November was the story of Mr. Lundwall. For more than five months, he has remained silent, unwilling to explain why a former Texaco loyalist set off a scandal that stunned the company and turned the executives implicated in the document destruction — including Mr. Lundwall himself — into targets of criminal investigations.

Now, even as the case against Mr. Lundwall moved forward with his indictment on Thursday on a charge of obstructing justice, he is telling his story. In a wide-ranging series of interviews, he described how the life he built after a childhood of poverty had drastically changed for the worse. And he spoke of his motivation for recording, keeping and, finally, disclosing the now-infamous tapes.

Mr. Lundwall's unusual story was also pieced together through court and corporate records, as well as with interviews of family members, business associates and other participants in the continuing scandal.

What emerges is a portrait of a man of contradictions, at one moment an eager participant in apparent wrongdoing, at another the whistle-blower exposing those same activities. But he also comes through as a strikingly naïve man, who had little notion of what he was unleashing.

The events surrounding Mr. Lundwall also raise difficult questions about how companies should handle executives when they expose poten-

deception was discovered. But the military bug had bitten. As soon as he could, he joined the Marines and learned a sense of discipline that he had sorely lacked.

By October 1965, Mr. Lundwall was settling down. He had left the military, married, and after some job-hopping, had joined Texaco.

Mr. Lundwall loved the job, pumping gas at a station in New Jersey, and he was soon entrusted with keeping its books.

Soon, Mr. Lundwall had a young son and an up-and-down job history within Texaco. But in 1969, a call from Texaco headquarters set him on a new career path: A position had opened in employee relations. Mr. Lundwall got the job.

For the first time, Mr. Lundwall worked among executives, handling personnel and clerical duties. He got a taste of the pay and benefits that went along with grabbing a lower rung on the corporate ladder.

His pride in Texaco swelled to unwavering loyalty. He made numerous sacrifices, often working weekends, nights and vacations. To help his career, he attended night

'Texaco Tapes' creator lives in their shadow.

tial wrongdoing in which they willingly took part.

Indeed, Mr. Lundwall's fate has provoked heated debate among some in the legal and civil rights communities.

"To indict Mr. Lundwall is to put a chilling effect on the initiative of Richard Lundwalls at other companies," said Roy Innis, the national chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality. "We should respect the sacrifice he made in coming forward, so that other Richard Lundwalls might do the same."

Indeed, Mr. Lundwall's future looks gloomy. Unable to find work, he spends his time at home in Danbury and volunteering in a homeless shelter. Many of the health and retirement benefits from Texaco are gone, cut off by the company. His wife, who had hoped to retire soon, must continue her job at a retailer to keep health insurance and hold up their sagging finances. Even the physical toll is evident, with Mr. Lundwall, long a rail-thin man, having lost 20 pounds since the saga began. As he examines the wreckage, his regrets mount.

"Was it the right thing to do?" Mr. Lundwall asked. "Sure. Would I do it again, if I knew what was going to occur? Chances are, no. In the real world, you don't want to put your head in that guillotine. I don't know a sane man who would. And I'm certainly sane."

The Chevrolet sat motionless on the exit ramp off the Southern State Parkway. The car had blown a tire, but the driver had no idea how to change it. She didn't even own a jack.

A green Mercury Comet pulled up behind and stopped. It must have been a welcome sight. Driving the Comet was a man who wore the Star: a Texaco service station attendant. The young man, wearing the company uniform and cap, jumped out of his car and, jack in hand, walked toward the Chevy. In a flash, the flat was changed.

The driver asked what she owed. Richard Lundwall smiled. Nothing, he replied. The next time she filled up, he told her, just think Texaco.

The year was 1965, and Mr. Lundwall was one of the latest, and proudest, employees at Texaco's gas stations. After years of professional drifting — from insurance investigator to postal clerk to back-office worker on Wall Street — Mr. Lundwall had found his calling.

"I would have gone to any lengths for the company," he said recently. "I wanted to present their best side. To me back then, Texaco was the best thing since sliced bread."

Texaco also offered security to a man who had not experienced much of it before. Raised in the South Bronx, Mr. Lundwall was the third of seven children in an impoverished, poorly educated and troubled family.

"Growing up was rough," said Carl Lundwall, Mr. Lundwall's 48-year-old brother. "Our father was there only on and off. And most of the time, we were on welfare."

Mr. Lundwall attended school sporadically, at best, and after turning 15 he dropped out to find work. Lying about his age, he joined the National Guard, but was discharged when his



Richard Lundwall

school, and in 1977 earned a bachelor's degree.

The hard work was worth it. In the early 1980's, he was promoted to the human resources unit of Texaco's finance department. With the raise he received, Mr. Lundwall could stop working extra jobs.

Mr. Lundwall finally seemed to have secured his future.

Richard Lundwall handed the paperwork for a new hire to a senior company executive for approval. While reviewing the documents, Mr. Lundwall said, the senior executive zeroed in on the name of the prospective worker, who was Jewish.

"He looked at it and he said, 'What are we trying to corner the market on here?'" Mr. Lundwall recalled.

With that experience in the early 1980's, Mr. Lundwall began to wonder for the first time if Texaco had problems dealing with diversity.

As his duties grew to include recruiting, other incidents would raise more questions. Despite Texaco's professed interest in hiring and promoting minorities, he said he came to believe that the company's policies seemed designed to fail.

A trip to a convention sponsored by a national association of black M.B.A.'s held promise, but nothing came of it. "We came back with a stack of résumés that would knock your socks off," Mr. Lundwall said. "But then the hiring result was zero. So you start thinking, 'What are we doing here?'"

In particular, Mr. Lundwall said, he was frustrated by Texaco's refusal to expand its search for college graduates outside of a few top schools. His suggestions that Texaco look elsewhere for qualified minority candidates, particularly at predominantly black schools, were largely ignored.

Some procedures struck Mr. Lundwall as disingenuous. Texaco required that all job openings be posted, supposedly to insure that all candidates would be considered. But repeatedly, Mr. Lundwall found, the hiring decisions had already been made.

Texaco's failure to recruit and promote minority candidates was documented in its own employment numbers. According to court records, in 1991, of the 1,887 employ-

ees in the top pay grades at Texaco, only 19 were black. By 1994, little had changed: The total number of employees in those levels had grown to 2,029, but only 22 were black.

In 1994, some minority executives decided to fight. That year, Bari-Allen Roberts and Sil Chambers, who had both been recruited for the finance department years earlier, became lead plaintiffs in the discrimination suit against Texaco. The suit contended that the company's promotion system, including its job posting program, was largely a sham. Instead, the suit said, the company thrived on a "good old boy" system.

In court papers filed at the time, Texaco said its employment practices did not discriminate against minorities, and defended its program — including the posting of all jobs — as fair, racially neutral policies.

The reaction in the finance department, Mr. Lundwall said, was one of silence. But soon, Mr. Lundwall could not ignore the suit; the plaintiffs demanded that he testify and tell them about documents involving the company's employment practices.

On Aug. 4, 1994, Mr. Lundwall sat for his deposition. For several hours, Mr. Lundwall openly described company records that the plaintiffs had known nothing about but that could prove crucial to their case.

"Lundwall was very forthcoming," said Cyrus Mehri, the plaintiffs' lawyer who took his deposition. "He was straight about every document he knew about. And those documents would be the very ones that they held back."

A few weeks later, Texaco received a discovery request demanding documents that Mr. Lundwall had identified. Now, Mr. Lundwall said, his bosses wanted him to review the records before the company lawyers saw them.

As he walked toward the meeting, Mr. Lundwall slipped his hand into his pocket and pressed the record button of a tiny microcassette recorder. He had purchased the recorder earlier, largely to retain conversations with an employee who repeatedly denied being told of assignments.

Over time, Mr. Lundwall had begun using the voice-activated recorder to protect himself. Texaco's culture was changing, he said, and it seemed that it reacted to trouble by finding an employee to blame.

Sometimes he used the recorder to help him keep minutes of meetings. Other times, he secretly taped conversations that made him uneasy — a legal act in New York State. He first taped meetings about downsizing, nervous that too many executives selected to lose their jobs were over 55. In the event of an age-discrimination lawsuit, he thought, the tapes would prove that he was following instructions.

The meeting about documents in the discrimination suit made him equally uncomfortable. If everything was on the up and up, he wondered, why weren't the lawyers going to be there?

Whatever his concerns, Mr. Lundwall showed few qualms during the meeting, according to the tapes and a transcript of them prepared by an independent investigator working for Texaco.

Mr. Lundwall and David Keough, a senior executive in the finance department, quickly found records that could prove troublesome and removed them from the pile. At one point, Robert Ulrich, then the company's treasurer, asked who else might have copies of certain documents.

"I don't want to be caught up in a cover-up," Mr. Ulrich said, according to the transcript. "I don't want to be my own Watergate."

Later, the men discussed how the documents might help the plaintiffs' lawyers. "We're going to purge" the books, Mr. Ulrich said, according to the transcript.

As the men examined a restricted document, Mr. Lundwall suggested getting rid of it. "Let me shred this thing," he said.

Citing the continuing investigations, Mr. Lundwall declined to comment on his role in the discussions on document destruction. Jonathan Rosner, a lawyer for Mr. Ulrich, said his client had not destroyed documents that he knew had been re-

quested in the case. Stephen E. Kaufman, a lawyer for Mr. Keough, said his client had not knowingly failed to comply with the instructions he received on the discovery requests.

Later, according to the investigators' transcript, Mr. Lundwall recorded another conversation he had with Mr. Ulrich as well as with Peter Meade, a Texaco marketing manager.

Mr. Meade commented that he had been host for a New Year's Eve party, and made it into a party celebrating Kwanzaa, a traditional African celebration.

"How nice," Mr. Ulrich is quoted as saying. "These your integrated friends?" The executive replied no, that he was just kidding his friends.

At one point, Mr. Ulrich expressed discomfort about Kwanzaa, an African harvest festival. "I'm still struggling with Hamkkaah, and now we have Kwanzaa," he is quoted in the transcript as saying. "I mean, I lost Christmas. Poor St. Nicholas, they (expletive) all over his beard."

Mr. Lundwall's tape stopped recording minutes later. That day, he took the cassette, threw it into his desk drawer, and forgot about it.

Mr. Lundwall eagerly awaited Christmas in 1995. After years of skipping vacations for work, the holiday season became his family's time to relax at home.

A week before his vacation was scheduled to begin, however, Mr. Lundwall was called into the office of James Link, who had replaced Mr. Ulrich when he retired. Mr. Link told Mr. Lundwall that he had some bad news: His job would be gone after June 1995.

The news stunned and angered Mr. Lundwall.

"You're talking about something that's going to happen six months down the road," Mr. Lundwall said. "It's bad enough telling a person they're not going to have a job, but do you have to do it when they're going on vacation? Couldn't they have waited until I got back?"

At home, his wife, Petria, could see his pain.

"This is a man who worked for them for 30 years," Mrs. Lundwall said. "He gave up car pools so he could be there late; he had all those years where he didn't take vacation. He gave and gave, and then they just cut him off."

The timing could not have been worse. Thinking their finances secure, the Lundwalls had just built an addition to their house, paying almost \$50,000. Now they would have to pay off that debt without much income.

Mr. Lundwall figured that another year on the job would significantly lessen the financial blow. So in January, he applied unsuccessfully for two posted job opportunities at Texaco, interviewing with people who had known him for years. That month, he had his last day in the finance department. He cleaned out his desk, and without a second thought, tossed the microcassettes into a box and headed home.

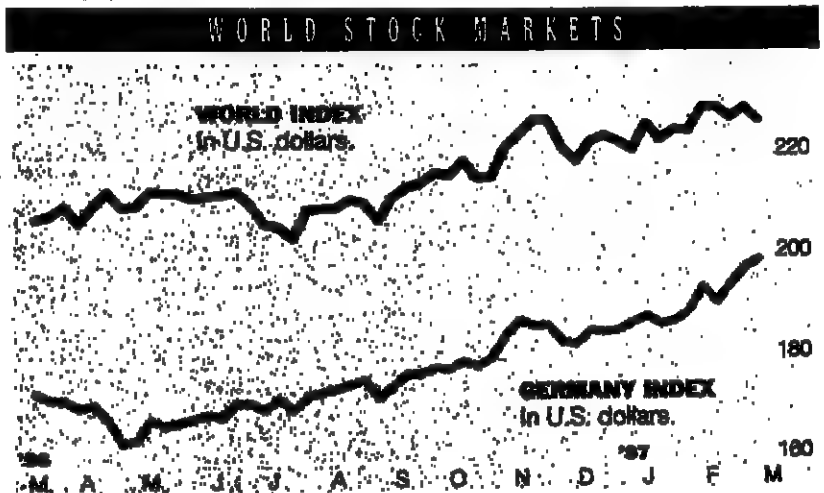
Technically still employed by Texaco, he was given a desk but little to do in its human resources division. Things seem to have struck bottom. Then in February 1996, Mr. Lundwall had kidney failure. He was rushed to Danbury Hospital for surgery. And it was there, as he was recuperating, that an angry Mr. Lundwall finally remembered his tapes and listened to them.

For weeks, Mr. Lundwall said, he thought about what to do with the tapes. Besides his desire for revenge, he said he felt it was proper to disclose what happened in those meetings. He reflected on his own niece, who had married a black man and whose life is affected by racial attitudes. But still he was fearful that his slim chances for new work at Texaco might be destroyed.

"The right thing to do was come forward," he said. "But I needed to work."

On his last day of work, Mr. Lundwall wandered over to the office of Bari-Allen Roberts, the black executive who was one of plaintiffs in the discrimination lawsuit against Texaco. He walked in and closed the door.

Casually, Mr. Lundwall asked Ms. Roberts if the case was continuing. "She said, 'Why do you ask?'" Mr. Lundwall recalled. "And I told her she might end up having another ally."



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Acquisitions World Index, a measure of stock market performance. The FT Index is compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

PERFORMANCE		IN U.S. DOLLARS					IN LOCAL CURR.		
Country	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Dividend Yield	Index	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank
Australia	222.77	0.4	12	0.4	19	4.09	185.78	-0.0	-
Austria	186.17	1.0	7	-2.0	22	1.77	164.42	8.2	-
Belgium	248.66	1.0	8	4.8	13	3.32	206.31	15.7	-
Brazil	236.27	1.7	5	28.9	1	1.19	474.83	30.9	-
Britain	263.27	-0.2	15	0.0	20	3.74	262.31	6.9	-
Canada	199.34	-1.0	18	5.0	12	1.87	198.86	4.5	-
Denmark	372.65	1.6	6	5.9	7	1.44	328.72	16.4	-
Finland	265.09	-0.1	14	7.9	5	1.81	282.37	18.8	-
France	221.15	-1.2	19	3.3	14	2.80	198.89	13.9	-
Germany	200.24	0.7	11	5.4	9	1.49	178.90	16.2	-
Hong Kong	462.95	-4.8	28	-8.7	26	3.35	460.36	-8.6	-
Indonesia	232.62	-3.9	25	1.9	17	1.55	342.77	3.8	-
Ireland	334.83	0.4	13	1.8	18	3.14	301.80	10.2	-
Italy	85.83	-2.0	23	2.8	16	2.05	108.53	14.5	-
Japan	111.97	-1.7	22	-13.2	27	0.90	87.33	-7.8	-
Malaysia	638.53	-0.4	16	5.9	8	1.06	609.14	3.8	-
Mexico	1,335.22	-1.0	17	9.5	8	1.13	11,645.29	10.9	-
Netherlands	353.34	0.9	10	5.1	11	2.51	308.35	16.2	-
New Zealand	84.44	-4.5	27	-8.0	25	4.43	64.26	-6.8	-
Norway	311.08	2.0	2	5.3	10	2.12	289.28	12.9	-
Philippines	197.00	-2.5	24	-3.3	23	0.67	258.52	-3.1	-
Singapore	400.13	-4.4	26	-4.7	24	1.05	264.47	-2.3	-
South Africa	380.82	1.0	9	13.3	2	2.39	350.43	7.6	-
Spain	216.57	1.8	4	-1.5	21	2.69	236.97	17.1	-
Sweden	434.59	-1.2	20	3.0	15	2.09	493.31	17.6	-
Switzerland	257.68	1.9	3	8.0	4	1.27	233.48	-16.4	-
Thailand	79.08	4.3	1	-17.5	28	4.05	79.68	-16.4	-
United States	322.22	-1.5	21	5.8	6	1.87	322.22	5.8	-

COMPOSITE INDICES		Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank
Europe	246.39	0.1	2.8	2.66	229.36	12.2
Pacific Basin	132.77	-1.9	-10.7	1.42	102.22	-6.7
Europe/Pacific	180.12	-0.7	-3.4	2.13	150.18	8.3
World	228.01	-1.1	1.7	1.99	204.02	5.1

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close.

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EXCHANGE RATES		Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar		123.38	121.82	+1.28	105.88
German marks to the U.S. dollar		1.6835	1.7145	-1.22	1.4720
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar		1.3628	1.3681	-0.46	1.3640
U.S. dollars to the British pound		1.6010	1.6013	-0.13	1.5272

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

March 10-14: After a 160-Point Drop on Thursday, the Dow Ends the Week Down 65

PRICES		Down 1.47%
Broad market	S&P 500 index	793.17
Blue chips	Dow 30 Industrials	6,935.46
Small capitalization	Russell 2000 index	361.04

DOMESTIC BONDS		Down 0.54%
Treasuries	Ryan Labs. Total Return	193.50
Municipals	Bond Buyer index	115.66
Corporates	Merrill Lynch Master index	846.76

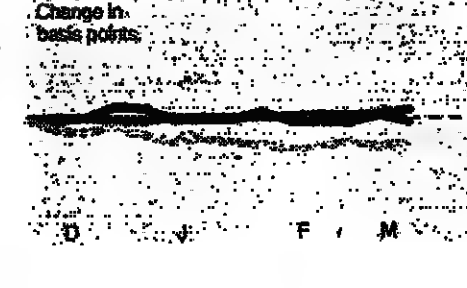
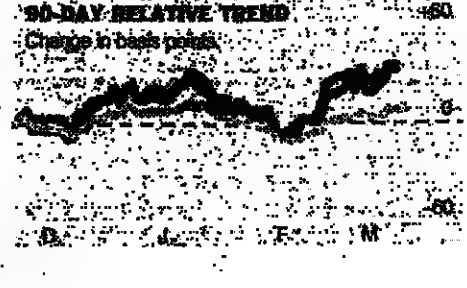
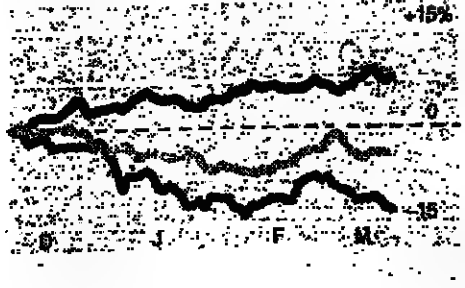
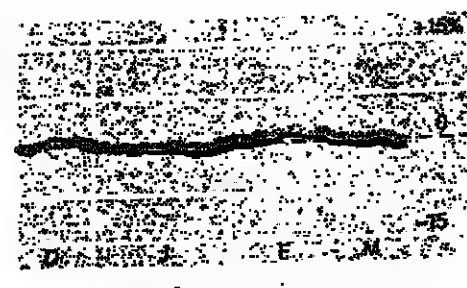
AROUND THE WORLD		Up 0.13%
European stocks	F.T.-Actuaries Europe	248.39
Asian stocks	F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin	132.77
Gold	New York cash price	\$353.00

Foreign indexes are given in dollar terms.

YIELDS		6.94%
Long bonds	30-year Treasuries	Up 13 basis pts.
Notes	2-year Treasuries	Up 9 basis pts.
Municipals	Bond Buyer index	Up 4 basis pts.

OTHER INVESTMENTS		4.80%
Money market funds	Taxable average	Down 4 basis pts.
Bank C.D.'s	1-year small savers	Up 2 basis pts.
Stocks	S&P 500 dividend yield	Up 3 b.p.

Sources: Bank Rate Monitor; Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; Datastream; Goldman, Sachs; IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch; Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs.



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Bond Act Battles in Albany

The passage of New York's \$1.75 billion Clean Water/Clean Air Bond Act last November counts as one of Gov. George Pataki's greatest achievements. But Mr. Pataki can boast about this accomplishment only as long as the public is confident that he is spending the money fairly and wisely.

Whether Mr. Pataki will do so is now a matter of heated debate in Albany. The act gives the Governor final power to choose individual projects and fund them — an open invitation, according to some Democrats, to target the money at traditional Republican strongholds. These critics are pressuring Mr. Pataki, who disbursed the first \$101 million last week, to list all future projects in the budget for legislative approval.

On one level, this is just another Albany turf war. On another, it is an important argument over accountability and governance. The public must be sure that the money will be distributed on the basis of environmental need, not political calculation.

Handing the Governor a lump sum and letting him spend it as he wishes is obviously not the answer. But giving the Legislature line-by-line authority over every project is an equally bad idea, an open invitation to every state senator and every member of the Assembly to grab a piece of the bond-act pie, at potentially great cost to larger environmental needs.

There is, however, a middle way, and it is contained right there in the bond act itself. First of all, the act obliges the Governor to pay careful attention to "management plans" that have been developed over the years by citizen groups and scientific advisory committees. These "on the shelf" master plans already exist for many major

environmental problems requiring attention — among them the need to preserve open space and to clean up Long Island Sound. The Governor can adjust these plans but he cannot stray far.

Second, the act requires the Governor to consult with the Legislature on \$660 million worth of clean-water projects — over one-third of the total. As for the rest of the act, Mr. Pataki now promises to give the legislators a stronger role by creating potentially influential advisory councils that would include the majority and minority leaders of the Senate and Assembly.

The final spending decisions would still be the Governor's. That he has gone further than the act obliged him to in offering to involve the Legislature is a tribute, in part, to the persistent criticism from Richard Brodsky, a Democratic Assemblyman and a firm friend of the environment. But a bill that Mr. Brodsky has offered to add a whole new layer of review seems excessive. The process is already complicated enough. It is important not only to spend the bond money wisely, but to do so in a timely manner. The longer environmental problems fester, the more expensive they will become. Someone has to make final decisions, and in our view they are best left to the Governor.

Mr. Pataki can at least be held accountable. All but a handful of legislative districts are safe for their incumbents, which means the Governor is virtually the only politician in Albany who cannot count on re-election. The responsibility for spending \$1.75 billion wisely is a big one. It therefore seems sensible to put the burden on a politician with something to lose.

Revving Up the Dow

The Dow Jones industrial average is the barometer by which many Americans measure good or bad times. Though only aficionados know how the stock index is constructed or what its ups and downs mean, people take it to be a measure of overall stock performance and — on the dubious assumption that what happens on Wall Street is intimately tied to what happens on Main Street — economic performance. If the Dow rises, times are deemed good. If it falls, run for cover. This week, the overseers of the Dow, the editors of The Wall Street Journal, will make a change that could signal better times ahead. They will drop four laggard stocks from the Dow and replace them with potentially stellar performers.

The Dow is a difficult-to-explain average of the shares prices of 30 American companies with "blue chip" names, like Boeing, Disney and Coca-Cola, that signify success. Created over 100 years ago, the index was originally intended to capture the movement of important industrial stocks. It no longer does so. An average of only 30 stocks does not capture movement in the share prices of thousands of publicly traded companies. Also, an index limited to huge, largely successful companies reflects a sliver of the economy. Yet the Dow retains its popularity in part because of its storied history and

because, despite its skewed makeup, its movements have not deviated wildly from those of broader market averages.

The index is periodically upgraded to reflect changes in the nation's economy. Toward that end, the Dow tomorrow adds companies in the emerging sectors of computers, finance and health care, and drops some in waning sectors like oil and steel. Specifically, the Dow adds Johnson & Johnson, Travelers Group, Hewlett-Packard and Wal-Mart, and drops Westinghouse, Woolworth, Bethlehem Steel and Texaco. It is no accident that the stock prices of the dropouts have done relatively poorly in recent years, while the prices of the entrants have risen handsomely. Of course, the editors are not all-knowing. Some of the companies previously dropped have done well, like Chrysler.

There is one group that might not relish a Dow jiggered to better track fast-growing companies. Financial advisers earn their living by convincing clients that they can pick stocks that "beat" the Dow. But if the Dow rises faster, the stock pickers will have to get smarter to fulfill their boast. They would no doubt prefer a Dow loaded with corporate dogs, the better to convince some gullible investors that they have outsmarted the market.

Editorial Notebook

The China Connection

The sophisticates of the political world never tired of saying last year that the Presidential race was dull, but its aftermath has been riveting. And even the sophisticates have had a hard time figuring out how government, politics and foreign policy intersected in the Clinton campaign's finances.

The narrative thread of this scandal surely starts with President Clinton's determination to turn his fortunes around after the electoral debacle in 1994, and the millions required to produce television commercials to do it. A good chunk of the money came from Asian-Americans with ties to business deals in China. Their contributions are no doubt no different from those of many other people wanting to participate in American politics. But a lot of interconnections need to be pursued if we are ever to understand what happened over the last year and a half, and it is necessary to try to knit the known facts together with their historic context and some informed speculation.

A century ago, the term "Open Door" described Teddy Roosevelt's demand for a piece of the China commerce, which was dominated by European powers. Nowadays, "Open Door" could describe both the desire of investors to get into China and the desire of the Chinese for a pathway into American politics.

Most foreign investment in China today is from the so-called Chinese diaspora — the millions of Chinese living in Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia and the United States. Traditionally, these ethnic Chinese have gained influence in their adopted countries by using their economic power to help politicians and governments. The simplest explanation of the fund-raising by Charlie Trie, Johnny Chung and John Huang is that the money they funneled into the Clinton campaign was in this tradition. In turn, they probably used their White House visits and picture-taking sessions to impress future business partners.

For investigators looking into Democratic fund-raising, these possibilities are less interesting than the Riady family of Indonesia — one of the most successful ethnic Chinese businesses in the world. Its links to the Chinese Government are more extensive than is generally appreciated. For example, the family's Hong Kong holdings are co-developers with China Resources, a Government-owned entity, in six projects in China. Another Riady-owned entity has joined with China Resources in two

When Will a Few Facts Add Up to a Picture?

development projects in Indonesia, and a Riady bank has a financing relationship with the China International Trade and Investment Corporation, the largest of the state-owned trading companies. Wang Jun, a top official at that company, was brought to the White House last year by Mr. Trie and Mr. Huang.

If the Chinese were trying to influence the American election, it certainly would not be a surprise. Taiwan has doled out millions over the years for Congressional junkets and public-relations campaigns that have won many friends in Washington. It does seem implausible, however, that the Chinese would give money secretly to such acerbic critics of Chinese policies as Representative Nancy Pelosi of California, who once tried to unfurl an anti-Government banner in Tiananmen Square.

A more likely possibility, according to some experts on China, is that Beijing may have been using the Riady's connection to obtain something as precious as influence, which was information. The Chinese were shocked, for instance, when the United States allowed President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan into the United States in 1995. His entry was a loss of face for the Chinese Foreign Ministry, which had assured everyone that it would never happen. What if the Riady family, which had received favorable business terms from the Chinese on a number of investments, had something to offer Beijing in return — its own former employee, Mr. Huang, in the inner councils of the Administration?

People who attended meetings with Mr. Huang at the Commerce Department recall that he rarely spoke up. But he retained at least some of his clearances when he moved over to the Democratic National Committee. No one is likely to claim that the Chinese living outside China turned Mr. Clinton into some sort of Manchurian candidate. But we can reasonably assume that something was going on, given the huge amounts of mysterious money flowing into the election campaign of the President and the rich variety of well-connected players running through the story. With the amount of legal and journalistic energy now arrayed, it seems only a matter of time before the sprinkled facts are arranged into a pattern. One guess is that the warnings delivered to Attorney General Janet Reno and the National Security Council about Chinese efforts to influence the American election will look like understatement.

STEVEN R. WEISMAN

'Partial-Birth' Abortion Tests Moral Limits

To the Editor:

In "Partial-Truth Abortion" (column, March 9), Frank Rich says that "politicians who purport to be 'pro-choice'" but who vote for a bill to ban "partial-birth" abortions are "liars."

Nonsense.

Those of us who are pro-choice politicians, physicians and others who oppose this type of abortion do so not to stamp out infanticide or to cripple a woman's right to choose or a doctor's duty to recommend the safest option for abortion, as Mr. Rich suggests.

It is because "partial-birth" abortion is never needed or indicated.

It is not necessary, since prostaglandin drugs to cause abortion are

commonly and effectively used. There have to be some moral limits to how our society performs abortion. Condemning "partial-birth" abortion is one of those moral limitations.

FRANK H. BOEHM, M.D.
Director, Maternal-Fetal Medicine
Vanderbilt U. Medical Center
Nashville, March 10, 1997

To the Editor:
Frank Rich (column, March 9) is the first to get it right:

Why would any woman elect to go through the horrible procedure of what critics call a "partial-birth" abortion just weeks from delivery? Late-term abortions are not done frivolously, but only in dire emergencies.

The "partial-birth" abortion play is an attempt by the forces of reaction to insert a wedge into the Roe v. Wade decision to eventually overturn it, just as they insert the wedge of "creationism" into the schools to deny evolution.

JULIA WEINSTEIN
New York, March 11, 1997

To the Editor:
Frank Rich (column, March 9) rightly describes a variety of reasons for second-trimester abortions, in addition to financial need.

However, public financing for needed reproductive health services would significantly reduce both the number of unintended pregnancies and the number of abortions performed in both first and second trimesters.

BARBARA MILGROM MELROSE
Amherst, Mass., March 9, 1997
The writer is a volunteer with the Abortion Rights Fund of Western Massachusetts.

To the Editor:
Frank Rich (column, March 9) implies that the worst fantasy of those who oppose abortion is that they "believe life begins at conception."

But it is a scientific fact, as any basic biology text will confirm, that life does begin at conception. The fetus is a live human being, distinct from, while dependent on, its mother. It deserves the full protection of its rights.

MONICA B. POTKAY
Seaside Park, N.J., March 11, 1997

To the Editor:
Frank Rich says of "partial-birth" abortions (column, March 9) that "The Washington Post reported 'as many as several thousand' may be performed each year and that 'no reliable statistics exist.'"

If no reliable statistics exist, where did Mr. Rich derive the information that "only some 600 abortions, no matter what the procedure, occur after the sixth month of pregnancy in the U.S. each year — all involving a tragically deformed fetus or a mother in peril?"

BRENDAN P. MURPHY
Santa Clara, Calif., March 9, 1997

To the Editor:
Your effort to promote truthfulness in the abortion debate (Week in Review, March 9) was undermined by your reference to the alleged link between abortion and breast cancer, and the suggestion that pro-abortion advocates are trying to cover up the truth.

In the breast cancer literature, some studies appear to show a slight increase in risk associated with abortion, while others do not. "Perhaps 'truth' will be served, and this issue put to rest for the moment," by a study recently published in the New England Journal of Medicine finding "no overall risk of breast cancer among women with a history of induced abortion." Your article did not help to advance this goal.

JOAN E. BERTIN
New York, March 10, 1997
The writer is a clinical professor of public health at Columbia University.

Saving Yellowstone Is Just the First Step

To the Editor:

Your March 13 editorial on President Clinton's "bargain" giving Crown Butte, a Canadian-based mining company, \$65 million not to dig a gold mine on the edge of Yellowstone National Park does not consider the potential benefit of this deal.

It is true that Yellowstone's grandeur must be preserved, but what about the watersheds poisoned by similar operations? In Colorado, the Environmental Protection Agency has committed \$135 million to try to revive the Alamosa River, made lifeless by mining contaminants. At the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation in Montana, chemical spills from a gold mine have fouled the water and killed the fish Native Americans have relied upon for sustenance for centuries.

In 1872 Congress created America's first national park at Yellowstone and also enacted the Mining Law. Now Congress finds itself caught in its own historic intent. Buying off one mining company with royalties paid by Montana's coal, oil and gas royalties can set no precedent because these interests will not stand for it: gold miners, in contrast, have been exempt from paying any



David Suter

royalties on their harvest.

Western senators have failed to bring the 1872 Mining Law up to current land-use standards. If this is Mr. Clinton's way of forcing mining law reform, the real bargain will be in saving not only Yellowstone but in ending the degradation of invaluable water resources imperiled by open-pit gold mining throughout the West.

CHRIS F. FOTHERINGHAM
Carpinteria, Calif., March 13, 1997

Consumers Lose Protection With Arbitration

To the Editor:

Your March 10 front-page article, "In Fine Print, Customers Lose Ability to Sue," rightly sounds the alarm about arbitration.

Erroneously touted as a new process of dispute resolution, arbitration is insidiously eroding the civil justice system. Arbitration removes the dispute from the evolved process of civil procedure and thus often removes the weaker party from the protections of the civil justice system. Nothing should be judged in a vacuum.

Voluntary informed consent to binding arbitration is often an excellent way to avoid the costs and appeals of litigation.

But very little arbitration being imposed on the consumer today is

truly voluntary or the result of informed consent. JUDY C. COHN
Atlanta, March 11, 1997
The writer is a lawyer.

To the Editor:
Resolving some disputes between a customer and a business outside the courtroom is a healthy development (front page, March 10), but forcing all customers into arbitration programs paid for by businesses bodes ill for potential plaintiffs with true grievances.

We will now need to read all of those font-style statements in order to find clauses mandating arbitration.

Might not such pressured agreements be abridgments of the First Amendment? MARCO PORTALES
Bryan, Tex., March 14, 1997

Of Scandals Past

To the Editor:

In "Scandals Past and Present" (Op-Ed, March 13), Leonard Garment says that "in the early cold war, the intense liberal anger provoked by Joe McCarthy and McCarthyism reached a climax in the Alger Hiss case."

Mr. Garment's chronology is backward.

It was Hiss's conviction in January 1950 that emboldened Senator Joseph R. McCarthy to charge that the State Department was "infested" with Communists, beginning the era now associated with "McCarthyism." McCarthyism started with Alger Hiss. Unlike Whitaker Chambers, Hiss's accuser, McCarthy never substantiated his charges. GEORGE HANNAUER
East Windsor, N.J., March 13, 1997

'Karma' Doesn't Explain Bad Health of Poor

To the Editor:

Richard A. Shweder claims that "no one knows why" the poor suffer higher rates of morbidity and mortality (Week in Review, March 9). He suggests: "Perhaps it is karma. Perhaps it is in the genes. . . . Perhaps it is a statistical artifact."

Since Mr. Shweder's discussion moves across a range of outcomes, from mental illness to cancer, complexity would seem appropriate. Yet he shouldn't have to look for evidence that differences in dangers on the job correlate to social status and that managers tend to be safer than workers on the shop floor. Socioeconomic differences in access to and quality of health care affect disease prevention and a patient's prognosis.

None of these have to do with kar-

ma, genes or statistical artifacts; rather, they are real conditions associated with suffering and death and are subject to remedy and fundamental to justice. DAVID RICHARDSON
Chapel Hill, N.C., March 10, 1997
The writer is a graduate student in epidemiology, University of North Carolina.

Talking About Drugs

To the Editor:

President Clinton has talked to his daughter, Chelsea, about his experiences with marijuana (news article, March 13). One wonders what he told her. Surely he did not say that the people he smoked with went crazy or became sick or addicted to heroin. Most of those Rhodes Scholars became lawyers, academics and public servants. Was that bad? Perhaps, but most do not think so.

The truth is that marijuana is bad because it is illegal and zealots could ruin a person's life for using it. Also, it is mind-altering, and adolescent egos can't take it. It should be regulated like alcohol, which we also keep away from young people, but allow them to use their own judgment when they are 21. It's time we stopped lying to kids; then they might believe us about cocaine and heroin.

MARTIN KELLMAN
Bloomfield, N.J., March 13, 1997

Cloning and 'Us'

To the Editor:

Re "Cloning Now Demands That We Ask: Who Do We Want to Be?" (Letters, March 13): I was struck by the use of "we," "us" and "our" in these letters, as if we all partake in the course of this development. There's also an implied anachronistic assumption that the United States is still the sole and virtuous bastion and arbiter of technological power.

Is there any doubt that one day we'll see news articles about young Wall Street warriors shopping for a Lamborghini but for the genetically engineered and expensive special attributes of their offspring? The sentiment "providing the best for our children" will take on a dramatic new meaning. There's that "our" again.

MARIO ELYTTE
New York, March 14, 1997

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Journal

FRANK RICH

Who Can Stand Up?

"Can anyone stand up to the Church of Scientology?"

Such was the plaintive question asked by The St. Petersburg Times in an editorial last week, and with good reason. The great American religious saga of the 1990's may be the rise to power of a church that has successfully brought the Internal Revenue Service, the State Department and much of the American press to heel even as it did an end-run around the courts.

As Douglas Frantz reported in The New York Times a week ago, Scientology in 1993 suddenly metamorphosed from a controversial and highly lucrative organization, with an extensive history of criminal activity in the 1970's, into a bonafide nonprofit religion — at least as far as the U.S. Government was concerned. That's when the L.R.S. turned its back on 25 years of its own rulings and gave Scientology the tax-exempt legitimacy it had long craved. What made this decision startling was not only the L.R.S.'s contradiction of both itself and various court decisions on Scientology's tax status, but also the mysterious circumstances that brought on the about-face. Scientology's victory was set in motion in 1991 when two of its leaders dropped by the L.R.S.'s Washington headquarters unannounced and somehow secured an audience with the agency's then Commissioner, Fred Goldberg Jr.

Why did Mr. Goldberg afford some of the L.R.S.'s most ferocious long-time antagonists the red-carpet treatment John Q. Taxpayer would never receive? He isn't saying, and the fateful meeting was not even recorded in his appointment calendar. Nor do we know what is in the agreement that the L.R.S. and Scientology subsequently negotiated — since the L.R.S. also acceded to the church's demand for secrecy. What we do know, thanks to Mr. Frantz, is that the settlement followed years of costly Scientology litigation against the L.R.S. and an extensive investigation of L.R.S. employees by Scientology-hired gumshoes.

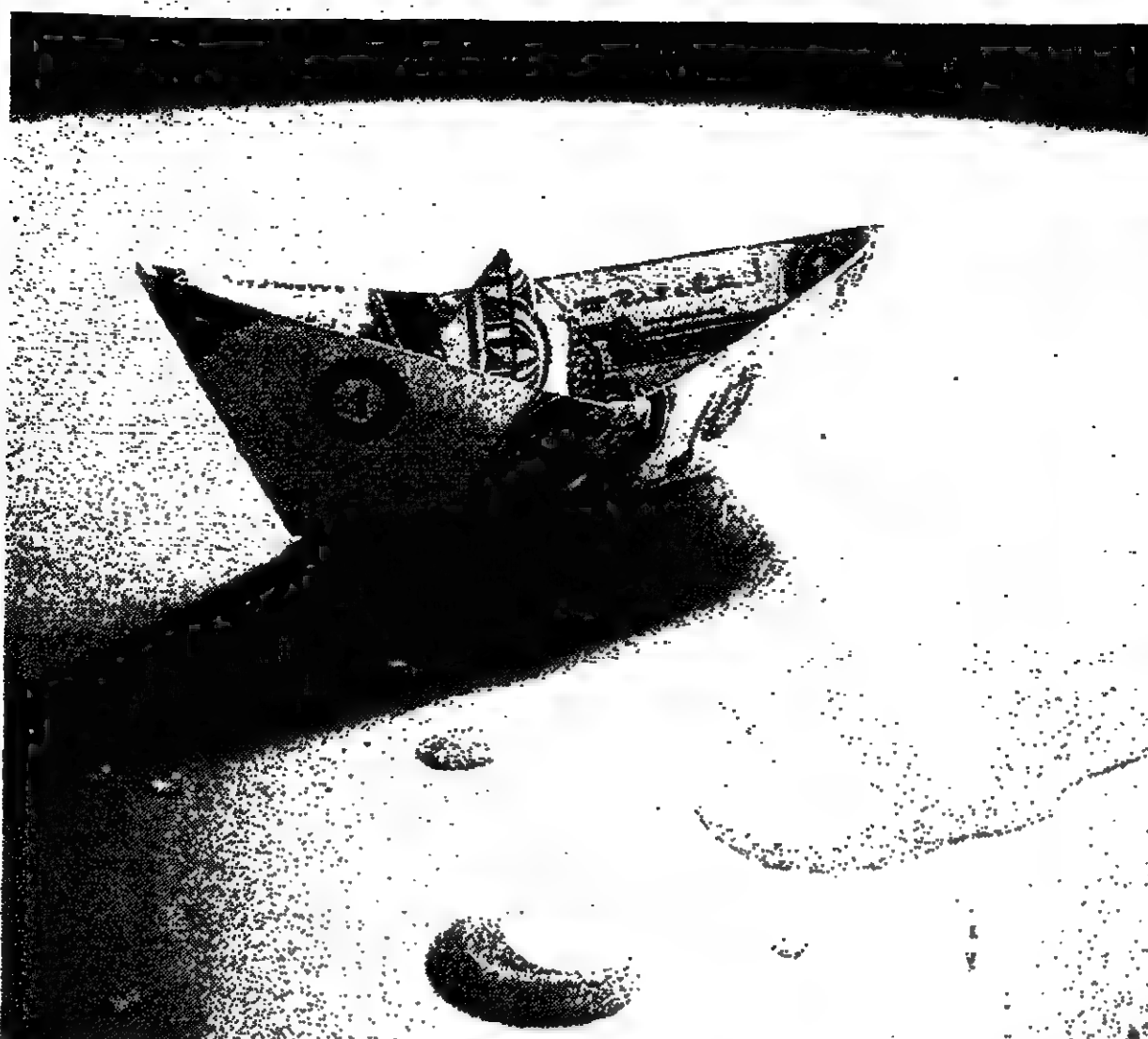
Scientology will stop at little to try to silence its foes. Time magazine had to spend \$7 million to successfully

The rise of the Church of Scientology.

ly defend itself against libel — a decision now under appeal — after its 1991 exposé of Scientology as a "hugely profitable global racket." The Cult Awareness Network, a Chicago-based organization that battled cults, was driven to financial ruin by litigation brought by Scientologists and their associates; now it's in the hands of a Scientology and proselytizes for the church. The Tampa Tribune, The St. Petersburg Times and the Clearwater, Fla., police department are currently under vicious attack by the Scientology magazine, Freedom; that's the price they must pay for pursuing the mysterious 1995 death of a 36-year-old Scientologist who had been planning to leave the church.

Those who police Scientology as if it still might be a racket — most harshly Germany, which regards the church as a "pseudo-science" sowing psychological and financial ruin — are invariably labeled Nazis by its leaders. Because of the L.R.S. decision, Scientology complaints about foreign governments are now treated officially as human-rights grievances by the State Department. Madeleine Albright, who has already raised the issue with Germany, may eventually have to take other allies to task as well. The Washington Post reported on Jan. 27 that a Greek judge closed a Scientology church center in Athens for "medical, social and ethical practices that are dangerous and harmful" and that an Italian court ordered jail terms for 29 Scientologists found guilty of "criminal association."

Perhaps these governments are Nazis, too, and the L.R.S., whose senior officials defended the legal merits of the agency's decision in conversations last week, is right: maybe Scientology, which charges its followers tens of thousands of dollars for the mandatory counseling sessions it calls "auditing," is indeed a benign nonprofit organization entitled under tax law to be underwritten by American taxpayers. But given the cost of this decision, shouldn't all the circumstances surrounding it be revealed? And where are the network TV interviews with David Miscavige, the Scientology leader whose casual visit to the L.R.S. in 1991 brought such blessings? No one can say he isn't newsworthy. As the head of an empire that purports to have eight million followers, he is the spiritual ruler of the most successful new religion to be founded in this century.



Anything Goes. It's the Law.

By Charles Lewis

WASHINGTON The Czech leader Václav Havel wrote in his book "The Power of the Powerless" about the importance to government of "ritual, facades and excuses." Without them, he said, "one of the main pillars on which the system rests would be undermined: the integrity of the world of appearances."

One of Washington's enduring rituals is that whenever politicians get in trouble, just about the first thing out of their mouths is that they have done nothing illegal. As things get more desperate, they may even say, "I am not a crook." If, after lengthy investigation, they are not indicted, they will then claim that they have been "completely vindicated." That's what Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d did in 1988, even though an independent counsel concluded in an 830-page report that Mr. Meese "probably violated the criminal law" on four occasions.

Since the almost daily revelations of fund-raising improprieties began last August, President Clinton and his people have consistently hidden behind sophistry of their own. The essential strategy of the final three months of the Presidential campaign was to deny flatly that anything illegal had occurred and to keep the President, Vice President Al Gore, the fund-raiser John Huang and Democratic Party officers away from reporters' embarrassing questions.

Obviously, from the narrow, amoral perspective of winning in November, it worked. It is not illegal, of course, to stonewall. In Washington, that is smart politics. What is right or wrong or true becomes irrelevant. The prevailing laissez-faire ethics in Washington are those of the legal profession, which is not comforting. Only in Washington could Elliott Abrams, a lawyer and former Reagan Administration official convicted of withholding information from Congress in the Iran-contra investigation, go on to become the president of something called the Ethics and Public Policy Center. (He was pardoned by President George Bush in 1992.) Only in Washington could Michael Abell, a lawyer who led the Justice Department's efforts to extradite drug traffickers to the United States, quit his job and, months later, give legal advice to the Cali cartel.

Ours is a Government of laws and lawyers. The President and the First Lady are the first White House couple with legal backgrounds. The Clinton first-term Cabinet had more lawyers than any in history. Lawyers and lobbyists were the most generous contributors to Mr. Clinton in 1992 and 1996, according to a review of Federal campaign records by the Center for Responsive Politics.

I have nothing against lawyers. But it is hardly surprising that officialdom has used legalese to frame every questionable fund-raising practice uncovered lately. Election lawyers and tax lawyers regularly exploit loopholes. In a similar spirit, Clinton White House lawyers created a paper trail of opinion and interpretation to try to indemnify themselves from criticism.

More than a year before the election, the President decided it was essential to raise huge sums of campaign cash for unprecedented media advertising. He and the Vice President did everything necessary to accomplish that, from flying loyal donors on Air Force One to granting "face time" to hordes of fat cats at golf outings, V.I.P. briefings, over

Charles Lewis, executive director of the Center for Public Integrity, is the author of "The Buying of the President."

The Clintons lead the way in hiding behind legalisms.

coffee, breakfast, lunch, dinner, drinks and sleepovers at the White House. No President has more systematically or successfully sold personal access to moneyed interests by using such symbolic vestiges of power as the Lincoln Bedroom.

Last August, after a Center for Public Integrity report first revealed the names and contributions of 75 people who had spent the night in the White House, a Presidential spokesman called our report "ridiculous." "The Lincoln Bedroom was never sold," the President has said. In general, he has defended his actions, saying on one occasion, "We got strict advice about — legal advice about what the rules were, and everyone involved knew what the rules were." But the evidence suggests the opposite.

What may have been technically legal was politically stupid and ethically wrong. Take the 350,000-name computer database that cost \$1.7 million in taxpayer dollars. The White House counsel wrote that the database could be used only for "official purposes," and a July 1996 memo from the counsel's office said that providing information "to any outside source, including any campaign committees, for unofficial purposes is an impermissible use." Under fire, White House mouthpieces have said the database was used only for official purposes, even though we now know that Democratic National Committee workers routinely used it as a fund-raising tool.

When reporters inquired about the 23 employees of the D.N.C. who were working as "volunteers" in the White House, they were told that the practice is not illegal because of a Justice Department memorandum from the 1980's arguing that a party organization can pay a White House worker's salary. There is no evidence, however, that anyone actually did this before.

In October, when the D.N.C. decided not to file its Federal Election Commission report, the committee's press secretary, Amy Weiss Tobe, said, "We're completely on firm legal ground." After a firestorm of criticism — no party has ever decided not to disclose its contributions and spending to the F.E.C. on the eve of a national election — the D.N.C. reversed its decision.

After the First Lady's chief of staff, Maggie Williams, somehow received but did not really accept \$50,000 from Johnny Chung, a party fund-raiser, in the White House, Hillary Clinton said, "She's an honorable and courteous person and what she did was legal and proper under the prevailing rules." A photo of Mr. Chung and the President reportedly was later used to advertise beer in China. But that was not illegal.

The White House interpretation of the law has sometimes shifted within days. When the story of the Clinton coffees hit, the White House press secretary, Mike McCurry, said, "There is a separate restriction that exists for the solicitation of funds for political activities which cannot occur on these premises.... We did not solicit here at the White House."

Days later, when news broke that Mr. Gore had made phone calls from the White House soliciting campaign money, the Vice President, with his counsel, Charles Burson, standing nearby, made his peculiar utterance that "there is no controlling legal authority or case that says that there

was any violation of law whatsoever."

Lawyers and politicians who hide behind them love to cite legal precedents. President Richard Nixon, for example, surreptitiously but legally taped hundreds of conversations in the Oval Office, using taxpayer money, and his lawyers argued unsuccessfully all the way to the Supreme Court that those tapes should not be released because of "executive privilege."

The current Clinton scandal is in its relative infancy as scandals go, and the extent of any wrongdoing is still unclear. The Clinton defense and refrain for six months now are that nothing is illegal (even though the Democratic Party has promised to return \$3 million in illegal contributions) and that everybody does it, which is not true. But despite all the legalistic explanations, one important question remains: Just where is the President's moral compass? □

Essay
WILLIAM SAFIRE

Helsinki Hopes

WASHINGTON The joke on the phone from Moscow has two guys in the front seat of a speeding car. One shouts "Turn the wheel! We're going to crash!" and the other says "I can't." "But there's a stone wall ahead — turn now!" "Can't." "Why not?" "Because you have the wheel."

Boris Yeltsin has the wheel and is shouting at others to turn Russia's economy from disaster. He's six months late and \$10 billion short in payments of wages to teachers, the police and the military. Unions plan an all-Russia general strike at the end of the month.

To show the world who's back on the job and in charge, Yeltsin put on a display of activity last week, firing everybody in sight except his passive Prime Minister, and the only reason that political zombie escaped is that Yeltsin doesn't want the Communist-dominated parliament to have its say in picking a successor.

The man Yeltsin brought back through the Kremlin revolving door is Anatoly Chubais, whom Yeltsin kicked out in the last shuffle. He is the former reformer who privatized much of Russia's assets by putting them in the corrupt hands of the old apparatchiks, the Russian mafia and the "seven brothers" oligarchy that runs the banking and media industries.

Chubais has some of the qualities of our Jim Baker: considered shrewdly manipulative by insiders, and rejected as an unprincipled cold fish by voters. He's smart enough to know further flirtation with the weakening Communists or the would-be Man on Horseback Lebed will not bring in Western capital to revivify the economy.

Where do Yeltsin and Chubais turn, now that they have given the illusion of having cleaned house, to find honest officials who know what they're doing — and, more important, who know what to do to get Russia out of its rut?

The answer: democratic reformers. Not the shock therapists who have no following, but to the "new blood" in Yabloko, the only serious non-Communist party, which has 8 percent of the Duma seats and is building a national political organization.

But Chubais, 41, has a personal problem with Yabloko: its leader, Grigory Yavlinsky, 44, is his rival. "I love Grisha," Chubais told me last year, "but he's impossible." Chubais sees the stubbornly incorruptible Yavlinsky as "having yash v' shivach," a hedgehog in his trousers," being what we might

call "a pain in the posterior." How does Chubais, back in power for the time being as First Deputy Prime Minister, bring in the good guys to help without the "impossible" chief good guy?

Divide and conquer. Last week, he offered five of the Yabloko leaders — but not Yavlinsky — key domestic ministries, from economic-financial to social policy and privatization. These were all men who pointedly refused to vote for Yeltsin in the last election.

But the reformers did not splinter. Acting as a unit, with a suddenly friendly television media giving Ya-

Clinton should change subjects.

vinsky time to express his support on prime time, the chosen handful from Yabloko stuck together and published a set of conditions for coalition.

The plan: force all Government officials to reveal income and property holdings; cut the bureaucratic apparatus of the president; make monopolies like Gazprom, railways and arms manufacturers pay taxes; propose new laws to attract foreigners to develop natural resources. Yavlinsky's demand: "human rights, private property, competition, payment of debts to the people."

Will Chubais swallow all this reformist good sense and sell it to Yeltsin? Not if he can avoid it. But if the tide of resentment keeps rising, and the alternative is Lebed, he may be inclined to do the right thing for the country.

Strange things can happen. Who would have imagined, three months ago, a Russo-American summit with a frisky Russian President and the U.S. leader on crutches, literally and politically?

Bill Clinton, who has not been weakened on NATO enlargement, should stop apologizing for protecting Poland and start bringing in the Baltic states.

He should stop making concessions on NATO troop positioning and change the subject to how America would respond positively to a Yeltsin coalition with Yabloko's democratic reformers.

Sure it's a long shot. But in this world of topsy-turvy political fortunes, what's a summit for? □

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Culture clash in Zichron Ya'acov

When a shop opened on Shabbat in Zichron Ya'acov this month, the ultra-Orthodox blocked the entrance with a funeral hearse. Religious-secular tensions nearly boiled over. Now residents are trying to restore tranquility to their quiet town, Larry Derfner reports



Amos Meroz near a sign pointing the way to his wife's shop, Antikon, open on Shabbat.

(Jonathan Bloom)

The local legend about the cows and the Shabbat sign is being repeated often these days in Zichron Ya'acov, a small town south of Haifa. The sign, propped up at the entrance to Hanadiv Street where the town's two main synagogues stand, asks drivers to respect local tradition and stay off the road during Shabbat prayers. In decades past, when Zichron (founded in 1882) was still a tiny moshava — before it began going after the weekend tourist trade, before the yuppies discovered it and built their new cottages on the slopes — and when cows still strolled through the center of town, even they would detour around Hanadiv Street on Shabbat morning. So, at least, it is said, and people here like to believe it.

The sign has three "don'ts" in it: don't disturb the worshippers, don't drive on the street during Shabbat prayer time, don't damage the sign. But the "don'ts" are only visible up close because someone has tried to scratch them out.

Drivers still tend to avoid Hanadiv Street during prayers, but a few have begun to "do *davka*," [just for spite], says Yishai Shibovsky, Zichron's local council head for the last 22 years. Both secular and religious residents here say they've always gotten along wonderfully. "I used to live in a haredi neighborhood, and I would drive on Shabbat, but I always parked my car a few blocks away so I wouldn't bother anybody," says Avraham Herzl, who runs a fruit-and-vegetable store.

"I have secular neighbors, and we respect each other," says a religious woman with a scarf over her head. "Everybody knows everybody else here; it's like a big kibbutz," she explains.

But in this old, quiet town of heartbreaking beauty, there is now tension over the issue of Shabbat. It isn't even remotely on the scale of Bar-Ilan Street in Jerusalem, and

there is nothing that could be called religious-secular hatred here; in fact, many if not most secular residents side with the religious — including Shibovsky, a Labor Party man. The conflict has less to do with ideology and more to do with the difficulties of making a living in this town of 10,000 without upsetting the local harmony. There is a tremendous store of goodwill in Zichron, but it has been strained by economics. The tension simmered for a while, then got completely out of hand two weekends ago.

Late on Friday afternoon, local haredim drove a burial society hearse to block the entrance to Antikon, an antique shop on the Hameyasdim pedestrian mall that had begun opening on Shabbat, in violation of local and national law. Amos Meroz, whose wife, Alice, owns the shop, called the Meroz party and the media. Between radio news bulletins and the secular activist network, over 1,000 protesters, including party leader Yossi Sarid, drove in from as far away as Beersheba to gather outside Antikon to show support. "It was the biggest news Zichron has made in 115 years," says Shibovsky, unhappily.

Since that crazy weekend, things have calmed down quite a bit. Nobody wants such commotion again. The local haredi leader, Deputy Mayor Itamar Bar-Ezer, who denies accusations that it was he who dispatched the hearse to Antikon, admits the tactic was "a big mistake."

Yet Antikon opened again last Shabbat. So to did three other craft shops in and around the pedestrian mall. "We know we're breaking the law, but it's an unjust law," maintains Ruti Anshelovich, owner of the Yetzira Mekomit ceramics shop. She has collected some 700 petition signatures, mainly from out-of-towners, to change the law against Shabbat business, and a

few hundred locals signed at the beginning of last week. However, no big demonstrations occurred over Shabbat, and the Druse Shabbat patrols, that were sent to Zichron by the Ministry of Labor and Welfare a month-and-a-half ago were not dispatched last Shabbat.

AROUND the beginning of February, the inspectors warned the Merozes that if Antikon continued doing business on Shabbat, the inspectors would return and summons the owners to court, where they would be liable for a fine ranging from a few hundred shekels to NIS 7,000. The Merozes were in a bind; for years, Antikon had closed on Shabbat, depending almost solely on the thin local trade, and barely broke even. But in recent years the city invested huge sums in restoring the center of town to the style of old Zichron, with turn-of-the-century-style lampposts, stone walls,

along with a few other galleries, opened on Shabbat and their businesses picked up dramatically. Now threatened with fines, and the prospect of a near-empty cash register once again, Amos Meroz, who used to be production manager of the Cameri and Haifa theaters before moving to Zichron seven years ago, got creative.

"The idea came to me like a thunderbolt," he says with a laugh. The law, he reasoned, forbade Jewish shopkeepers from opening on Shabbat, but not gentiles. His lawyer drew up a contract, and Meroz's Moslem friend, Kasi Ramsi from the nearby Arab village of Fureidis, agreed to "buy" Antikon on Fridays for NIS 10, run the store on Shabbat, then "sell" it back to Meroz after Shabbat was over. This has been going on now for about six months.

The system doesn't sit well with many residents. "Every child knows this 'sale' has no legitimacy," the religious council stated, calling it a "media gimmick to save a failing business."

Yehiel Cohen, the secular owner of the "Duvdevan" kiosk a block away from Antikon, says he could draw huge numbers of customers on Shabbat, but prefers to stay closed. "I have nothing against restaurants opening on Shabbat, the tourists have to have someplace to eat. But if the galleries can stay open, why not the camera shop and the shoemaker and everyone else? Israeli society has to be different, it has to behave in a Jewish manner," he insists.

Antikon and the craft shops are setting a dangerous precedent, say the local critics. They're afraid that little by little, Zichron could become like Daliat el-Carmel or Ushiya, Druse villages which are wide open for tourists on Shabbat.

"People have always lived together here, and I don't want the status quo to change. I want Zichron to remain the moshava it always was," says Herzl, whose produce store stands across the street from Antikon.

"We've always had understanding here, there's never been any religious coercion. But Shabbat is the day of rest, that's the law. Only now some people think they can come up with bright ideas to get around it," complains Shibovsky.

"This community won't allow it," he warns. Meroz insists that Antikon and the other galleries are doing what they can not to offend anyone. "We don't open on Shabbat until after 11 a.m., by which time everyone has finished prayers and the synagogues are empty," he notes. He points out that his wife's fashion shop stays closed on Shabbat. "It

runs on local trade, not on tourists, and we don't want to aggravate anyone for no reason," he explains. Bar-Ezer is not impressed. He wants Shabbat in Zichron to be like it always was — a quiet day without business, not in galleries and not in restaurants. But he doesn't want to block anybody's door again and he doesn't want demonstrations. So what will he and his allies do? "I believe in the ways of gentle persuasion," he says. Such as? "If the restaurants agree to be glatt kosher, perhaps the haredim will begin eating there during the week, and the restaurants will have enough business so

they won't have to open on Shabbat. And after eating in the restaurants, it stands to reason that the haredim would wander into Antikon to buy, if the shop were closed on Shabbat," he suggests.

Would Meroz go along? "I'll consider any proposal to prevent a culture war," he says. "If Itamar [Bar-Ezer] comes to me with an idea, I'll welcome him."

Not every religious-secular dispute has to lead to a culture war. Whatever mistakes were made, whatever mistakes may yet be made, people here will be praying, or at least hoping, for the peace of Zichron Ya'acov.

EARTHY CONCERNS

Sealing up Chernobyl

By D'VORA BEN SHAUL

Almost 11 years after the nuclear reactor at Chernobyl in Ukraine suffered a massive explosion, new technology should at last seal the leaking sarcophagus that surrounds its remains.

The sarcophagus, which is built of reinforced concrete, began cracking and breaking apart only a few months after it was built and it has remained a major source of concern ever since. Experts have repeatedly warned that any slight tremor in the earth around it, or a sudden burst of atomic activity within the buried core of the old reactor, could release clouds of radioactive material that could be even more harmful than the tons of material that escaped into the winds at the time of the initial explosion.

Over the years the weakened sarcophagus has shown more and more damage until, at the present time you can even notice birds flying into and out of cracks in the structure. Repeated attempts at resealing the dome have failed and

cracks reappeared within a short time after the repairs were made.

But now, thanks to a new material produced in Russia it may be possible to completely seal the space between the reactor and the surface of the sarcophagus. The material is in the form of a thick gray foam made of silicon elastomers that are resistant to radiation. Using this foam scientists say that it is possible to completely enclose the reactor in a radiation-proof shield.

The material, called EKOR, was developed by scientists at the Moscow-based Kurchatov Institute and financed by Eurotech. Now the La Jolla, California, branch of Eurotech has been given the go-ahead to apply the 35,000 cubic meters of EKOR that will be needed to seal the tomb. Two types of EKOR are available, one a soft spongy mass and the other that dries to a hard shell.

Both will be used. Eurotech's Randolph Graves says that EKOR does not burn and will contain radioactivity for up to 200 years. The Chernobyl entombment aims

at sealing the sarcophagus for about 8-10 years while a new concrete and steel containment is built over the old structure.

The filling of the tomb with foam will cost about \$200 million. This is two-thirds of the preliminary budget for the entire clean-up of Chernobyl that has been pledged by the G7 group of industrialized countries.

In addition to the use to which EKOR will be soon put in Chernobyl, scientists say the material has a large range of possibilities in other places, principally in sealing radioactive materials where they are rather than transporting them and/or trying to find possible means of further disposal. It may also be used to seal up the more than 400 nuclear reactors that are to be decommissioned before 2030.

The solution, say, the experts, will provide a breathing space while methods of ultimate disposal of nuclear waste can be explored and perfected. Graves says Eurotech sees a potential market of hundreds of billions of dollars for the new sealant.



Zichron Deputy Mayor Itamar Bar-Ezer: "Dispatching the hearse was a big mistake."

(Jonathan Bloom)

elaborate gratings and red shingle roofs. Restaurants and cafes, which are allowed by law to open on Shabbat, began doing so, forfeiting their kashrut certificates in the process.

Tourists began pouring into Zichron on weekends. Antikon,

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Mifal Hapayis

BUSINESS

in brief

Teledata plans \$51m. secondary offering

Teledata Communications of Herzliya recently informed the US Securities and Exchange Commission of its plans to raise \$51 million through a secondary offering of 2.76 million shares, or 23% of the company's stock. The Nasdaq-traded company will issue 1.08 million of the shares, while 1.68 million will be sold by other shareholders. The company expects that the offering - which will be underwritten by Smith Barney, Oppenheimer & Co., Cowen & Co. and Robertson Stephens & Co. - will take place in April or May this year.

A Teledata spokesman said the company's current circumstances make the timing right for such an offering. "In 1994 and 1995 the company was in crisis due to a slowdown in sales and [the fact that] we didn't get our new technology to the market on time," said the spokesman, who requested anonymity. "But in 1996 the company earned \$7m., and this gave us the feeling that the company had matured and the timing was right to go and raise cash."

The spokesman said that Teledata, a developer of telephone network components used to connect subscribers to a local exchange, will use the money to prepare for an expected growth spurt.

Meanwhile, Salomon Brothers recently gave the company a stellar report, noting that Teledata has "succeeded in changing its image from a turnaround story to a strong player in the local loop segment, which currently enjoys tremendous momentum."

Jennifer Friedlin

Prudential: Number of Israeli IPOs to rise

The number of local companies to make initial public offerings on US equity markets is expected to rise 40% - 60% this year from 1996, which was a record year, according to Paul Scura, head of investment banking at Prudential Securities in New York.

Scura arrived here last week to participate in a Tel Aviv symposium for Israeli companies on going public in the US. Last year 18 local firms registered their shares for trading on US markets, compared with six in 1995. There are currently 75 Israeli firms listed in the US, second only to Canada as the foreign country with the most companies traded in the US.

Galit Lipkis Beck

Bezeq to buy \$5m. worth of Siemens hardware

Bezeq will purchase a mobile digital phone exchange with 5,000 direct lines and 250 ISDN (integrated services digital network) lines from Siemens in Germany.

Acting Bezeq director-general Avi Hochman announced this yesterday, adding that the choice was made in an international tender in which Siemens came out ahead of Ericsson of Sweden and Telrad and Tadiran in Israel.

The equipment, costing about \$5 million, is needed to supply high-quality services in an emergency or in places where the infrastructure has not yet been completed. The need for such a mobile exchange was realized after the major fire at a Petah Tikva phone exchange over two years ago.

Judy Siegel

Strauss family debating possible Elite takeover

By GALIT LIPKIS BECK
and Jerusalem Post Staff

"There are differences of opinion within the Strauss family regarding the Federman family's offer to purchase our shares in Elite Industries, but we have sufficient time to consult and come to an agreed decision on the issue," Strauss chairman and CEO Michael Strauss said yesterday.

Last week Elite's controlling shareholder, the Federman family, offered to purchase the Strauss Group's holdings in Israel's leading sweet and snack producer. The offer was based on a company value of \$517 million, more than double the company's market value.

Meanwhile, the *Globe's* financial daily yesterday reported that Strauss has already received at least five offers from prospective partners, both local and foreign, who would ostensibly shoulder his takeover of Elite, should he choose to carry it out.

Strauss, who said all the family members are fully involved in deciding whether to agree to Federman's offer, would not hint at who is taking what stance, following the proposal.

Under the Strauss-Federman ownership agreement, the Strauss family can instead, within 60 days offer to purchase all of the Federman family's shares in the company at a price 2.5% below Federman's offer.

Federman intends to purchase Strauss's holdings in Elite in partnership with Jafra-Tabori.

Assuming Strauss decides to decline the offer and purchase Federman's shares instead, Federman will pay \$1 million in compensation costs to Jafra, which is one of the country's leading soft drink producers.

The Federman family currently holds 26.28% of Elite's voting shares and 13% of its capital shares, while the Strauss Group, through Gideon Holdings, controls 19.17% of the voting shares



Michael Strauss (Photo: Haherut)

and 17.59% of the capital shares.

The Federman family decided to trigger the Buy Me/Buy Out mechanism of the two partners joint control agreement after Strauss announced its intentions to break up the agreement. The decision was made about one year after Strauss became a partner in

the food company.

"You cannot manage a company under two captains," said Strauss, explaining that the decision to end the partnership stemmed from differences of opinion on how to manage Elite, which completed 1995 with a net loss of NIS 6.8m.

Elite has since then undergone a process of reorganization intended to help it cope with increased competition from large international food conglomerates. The company finished last year with a NIS 18.1m. profit.

Commenting on Jafra's intention to enter into a joint-management agreement with Federman, Strauss emphasized that the success is dependent on the management combination.

"If they do not reach the right combination they will find that within six months or more they will be forced to separate," said Strauss.

Yaf-Ora is controlled by Cial Industries and Israel Cold Storage and Supply.

Long-term savings down 19%

By DAVID HARRIS

Long-term savings have shrunk by 19 percent since the beginning of the decade, according to data released yesterday by the Bank of Israel.

In 1990, the public held nearly half its financial assets, or 47.4%, in long-term savings, a figure which has dwindled to 38.2%, the central bank said. In 1994, there was a five percentage-point upturn, but since then the downward trend has resumed.

These are the latest in a series of statistics which have led the Treasury to call for the implementation of measures aimed at encouraging long-term savings, of 10 years and upwards, part of a concerted effort to revitalize Israel's capital markets.

However, there has been considerable criticism of the proposals from outgoing Treasury director-general David Brodet.

The Brodet committee report's central recommendation was to tax short- and mid-term savings to persuade the public to investigate the longer-term alternatives.

Led by the Prime Minister's Office and the Bank of Israel, opponents say such a move will come down hard on the poorer members of society. As a result, the proposals are still in limbo, with Finance Minister Dan Meridor constantly pledging to reintroduce them to the cabinet at the earliest opportunity.

The Bank of Israel data also indicated that the public did increase its shareholdings in floated companies. This trend expressed itself through increases in direct share purchases and greater use of trust funds.

Since 1994, there has also been a move away from provident funds to more fixed savings schemes and bank deposit accounts. One of the explanations for this, according to the bank, is the stagnation in the capital markets, amid the cancellation of provident fund designated bonds since the mid-1980s.

Another factor was the central bank's high interest rate policy in recent years, which has meant savers could receive relatively high returns on short-term savings. The bank says the public has concluded that the provident funds do not assure it of stable returns from year to year.

Meanwhile, overall long-term savings fell some 1% in real terms last year, totalling NIS 226 billion.

In a separate announcement, the bank said M1 money supply rose 3% last month. This followed a 3.4% increase in January. M1 includes the sum of currency, demand deposits, travelers checks and significantly reflects the credit given by the banks to the business sector.

This data, along with the 1.2% increase in the Consumer Price Index, published on Friday, will be taken into account when the central bank announces its key lending rates for April on Sunday.

Heineken purchases 51% of Tempo

By GALIT LIPKIS BECK

Dutch beverage producer and distributor Heineken has signed a letter of understanding to acquire 51 percent of Tempo Beer Industries from controlling shareholders Moshe Podhorzer and the Beer-Bornstein family.

Tempo said in an announcement to the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange. It is not yet clear exactly how many shares Heineken will actually purchase and at what price.

Once Heineken purchases the shares, Tempo will be split into two companies.

The first will be active in the beer market, while the other will focus on non-alcoholic beverages, specifically Pepsi. Heineken will control the beer company, which is the source of most of Tempo's earnings.

The purchase will put an end to the three-year family dispute at Tempo between controlling shareholders Jack Beer and Moshe Podhorzer.

Last month Podhorzer gave Heineken and Beer an option to acquire his 44.5% holding in Tempo for \$42 million.

The Beer-Bornstein Group, which includes the son of the company's founder, the late Moshe Bornstein, has committed itself to purchasing Podhorzer shares at the offer price.

The option was given for 90 days, until the end of April.

Podhorzer made the sale of his shares conditional upon them eventually winding up in the hands of Heineken and the Dutch company's holding of at least 50% of the shares in

Tempo. The Beer-Bornstein family will therefore have to sell Heineken at least 5.5% of their shares.

Market sources said Heineken may end up paying less for the shares than the Beer-Bornstein family has agreed to pay Podhorzer.

The letter of understanding was signed at the end of last week in Holland in the presence of senior Heineken representatives and Tempo chairman Jacques Beer, who negotiated the agreement.

The companies are expected to sign a final agreement within a month or two.

Tempo's division into two companies is expected within a few months, after Heineken becomes a partner in the company.

The split is subject to the approval of the Income Tax Commission.

Pepsi International, which has an option to purchase 50% of Tempo's soft drink company's shares, is not expected to take advantage of this option, said Tempo chairman Jacques Beer. He said Pepsi has a worldwide policy to reduce its involvement in franchises.

Tempo sources expressed fear that Tempo's soft drink division will be forced to make major cutbacks after the spin-off as a result of the strong competition currently prevailing in the market. Tempo's major soft drink competitors, Coca Cola and Yaf-Ora, have managed to increase their share of the market in recent years at the expense of Tempo.

Indigo cuts losses to \$13.4m. in fourth quarter

By JENNIFER FRIEDLIN

Indigo N.V. took a step toward the black in the fourth quarter of 1996 by registering net losses of \$13.4 million, compared with \$18.5m. for the corresponding period a year earlier.

Revenue for the quarter dropped from \$37.2m. to \$23.8m.

For the year, the company reported net losses of \$73.8m., compared to a loss of \$40.5m. in 1995. Revenues fell 37% to \$103.9m. from \$165.8m.

The market responded enthusiastically to the better-than-expected results, sending Indigo's Nasdaq-

traded stock up 13% to close at \$5.9375 on Friday.

Meanwhile, the beleaguered maker of electronic color-printing products also announced that it raised \$20m. and is in the process of raising an additional \$10m. from new and existing investors.

Among the investors are the Landa Family Trust, whose beneficiaries include Benny Landa, Indigo's founder and chairman, and the Chatterjee Group, an affiliate of Soros Fund Management.

"The private placement, in which a new investor, as well as existing shareholders, have participated indicates the continuing confidence

of our shareholders," company CFO Shlomo Nimrodi said in a statement.

The company said it will use the investments for research and development and to enhance its marketing channels. Since slashing its workforce from 1,300 at its height in mid-1995 to its current 750, the company is now planning to hire more salesmen internationally.

The company's restructuring plan also resulted in the recent dismissal of Wayland Hicks, who served as president and CEO of the company, and Frank Steenburgh, who served as president of Indigo America, due to poor sales in North America.

The company also announced a newly-created office of the president. It is comprised of the company's four top executives, who will all report directly to Landa.

Annual savings resulting from the recent management change are expected to be some \$2m. A restructuring charge in excess of \$3m. will be recorded in the first quarter. The company does not expect to reach profitability before the end of the year.

Based in the Netherlands, Indigo N.V. develops and manufactures a line of short-run printers. The company has wholly-owned subsidiaries in Israel and the US.

Ares-Serono completes InterPharm takeover

By JENNIFER FRIEDLIN

Ares-Serono S.A., a leading Swiss developer and marketer of pharmaceutical products, has purchased the outstanding shares of InterPharm Laboratories Ltd. for \$40 million, the company reported yesterday.

As a result of the acquisition, Ares-Serono, now owns 100 percent of InterPharm, a Ness Ziona-based healthcare biotechnology company.

The purchase will mean that InterPharm will receive greater assistance in developing and marketing its products, Ares-Serono CEO Ernest Bertarelli said.

"We are in a position to focus our efforts on further developing the manufacturing capabilities at InterPharm, as well as its research and development expertise in recombinant pharmaceuticals," Bertarelli said. In the last 15 years, Ares-Serono and its affiliates have invested some \$150m. in InterPharm and has funded research projects at the Weizmann Institute, he added.

InterPharm manufactures human growth hormones, monoclonal antibodies and human beta interferon, a protein secreted by human cells that can protect certain cells from viral infections.

Leviev plans to make Africa Israel a six-company group

By GALIT LIPKIS BECK

Africa Israel will emerge as a six-company group once it implements new owner Lev Leviev's reorganization plans, announced yesterday, to establish three new firms - Africa Israel Real Estate Holdings, Africa

Israel International and Africa Israel Revenue Producing Properties. Africa Israel already owns three subsidiaries - Africa Israel Industry and Trade, Africa Israel Hotels and Danya Cebus.

Under the new structure for the real estate, tourism and industrial holdings company, six firms will operate as business divisions, each with its own subsidiaries, some of which will be floated on the stock exchange. "The structural changes are intended to deepen the company's activities in Israel and abroad, as well as expand its existing invest-

ments to new activities like high tech and other revenue-producing fields," management said.

The firm intends to seek opportunities in Eastern Europe as a first step to developing overseas activities. Leviev has years of experience in the Eastern European market through his diamond business and contacts with Jewish communities.

Africa Israel, which currently controls and manages the Holiday Inn chain here, has plans to manage new hotels, as well as invest in new projects in the real estate field.

In related news, McDonald's

announced that Africa Israel is trying to return a check which was paid as a pre-rent payment for commercial space in the Ramat Aviv mall, which is scheduled to open in six months.

Earlier this month, Africa Israel's board of directors decided to close the mall on Shabbat, despite opposition from some businesses, that intended to rent commercial space. According to McDonald's, which has already invested in the complex on the basis that it will operate on Shabbat, Africa Israel's actions are illegal. The fast-food chain refuses to take the check back.

The Ministry of Finance
THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL

Bids are invited for the supply of the following goods, required by various government agencies throughout Israel:

Tender 487 - Miscellaneous paper products
Tender 587 - Toilet paper, paper towels and paper for industrial use
Tender Participation Pre-conditions

Minimum tender participation conditions are given below. Offers which do not comply with these conditions will not be considered.

- Bidders should have at least 3 years' experience in supplying paper products.
- Bidders should have experience in supplying paper products to large organizations and/or government ministries.
- Bidders must be capable of supplying all the paper products in the tender specification in the quantities, in whatever quantity is ordered, with delivery to any location.
- The bidder should attach to his application all the documents required under clause 12.
- The bidder should submit to our office all information requested on the attached tender appendices, including the price for each of the requested items. Each page must be signed separately.
- A bidder must attach to his bid confirmation from the Israel Standards Institution, or from a body authorized by the Institution, that the bidder has instituted the procedure for obtaining approval, in accordance with Israel Standard 2002 (ISO 9002). The bidder must undertake to complete the procedures to obtain the approval and report on progress in this connection every three months. The Ministry will verify the supplier's report on progress towards obtaining the Israel Standard Institution's approval.
- The Ministry will take all necessary steps to protect and grant priority to Israeli products and to regions of national priority as required by the laws, regulations and guidelines which will be in effect.
- The last date for submission of bids for both tenders is noon on Thursday, May 1, 1997.

Applications for the tender documents should be made by fax only, to 02-5317778, giving the following information:

Tender no. _____ Subject of Tender _____
Name of company bidding _____ Authorized Trader's No. _____
Company's address, with postal code _____
Fax no. _____ Tel. no. _____

Bank at which Company has its account _____ branch no. _____ acc. no. _____
The tender documents and technical specifications will be sent after receipt of a fax, as aforesaid.
Our address: Tenders and Buying Dept., The Accountant General, Finance Ministry, 1 Kaplan, 7th Floor, Room 714 or 715, or P.O.B. 13185, Jerusalem 9131.
Additional details from Tel. 02-5317428, 02-5317415.
No undertaking is given to accept the lowest or any bid.

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Purchase Price: 114.71
Redemption Price: 113.23

PRIME **PRIME**
Mutual Fund for Foreign Residents

Date: 13.3.97
Purchase Price: 114.71
Redemption Price: 113.23

PRIME **PRIME**
Mutual Fund for Foreign Residents

Date: 13.3.97
Purchase Price: 114.71
Redemption Price: 113.23

PARTICIPATIE MAATSCHAPPIJ GRAAFSCHAP HOLLAND, N.V.
(hereinafter: "the Offeror")
(a subsidiary of Assicurazioni Generali S.p.A.)

A Notice Concerning the Establishment of the Final Price for the Purpose of an Acquisition Offer Specification for the Purchase of Shares in Leumi Insurance Holdings Ltd.*

Notice is hereby given under Paragraph 2.2 of the Acquisition Offer Specification for the purchase of shares in Leumi Insurance Holdings Ltd. dated March 12, 1997, that the final Purchase Price, adjusted to the Consumer Price Index published for February 1997 (145.4 points) is NIS 3.3142 per share.

16 March 1997

PARTICIPATIE MAATSCHAPPIJ GRAAFSCHAP HOLLAND, N.V.
* This is a translation of the Hebrew notice published in "Hatzetz" and "Nesher" on March 16, 1997.

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ISRAELI MONEY MARKETS

Patah (foreign currency deposit rates) (11.9.96)

Currency (deposit for)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$250,000)	4.762	5.000	5.375
Pound sterling (£100,000)	3.675	4.000	4.250
German mark (DM 200,000)	1.825	1.825	2.125
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	0.625	0.750	1.000
Yen (10 million yen)			

(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates* (14.3.97)

CHECKS AND TRANSFERS	BANKNOTES	Rep.
Buy	Buy	Buy
U.S. dollar	3.6070	3.6070
U.S. dollar	3.3948	3.3948
German mark	1.8982	1.8982
Pound sterling	5.3197	5.3197
French franc	0.5890	0.5890
Japanese yen (100)	2.6990	2.6990
Dutch florin	1.7899	1.7899
Swiss franc	2.2768	2.2768
Swedish krona	0.4858	0.4858
Norwegian krona	0.4371	0.4371
Danish krone	0.4857	0.4857
Finland mark	0.5128	0.5128
Canadian dollar	0.6553	0.6553
Australian dollar	2.4483	2.4483
S. African rand	2.6596	2.6596
Belgian franc (10)	0.7548	0.7548
Austrian schilling (10)	0.8483	0.8483
Italian lira (1000)	2.7801	2.7801
Jordanian dinar	1.9857	1.9857
Egyptian pound	4.6400	4.6400
ECU	0.9500	0.9500
Irish punt	3.7876	3.7876
Spanish peseta (100)	5.1953	5.1953

*These rates vary according to bank. Bank of Israel
SOURCE: BANK LEUMI

SPORTS

in brief

Two sent off as Rangers beat Celtic

GLASGOW (Reuters) - Rangers took a huge step towards their ninth successive Scottish League title when they beat arch-rivals Celtic 1-0 at Celtic Park yesterday thanks a scrambled 44th minute goal from Brian Laudrup.

But Rangers' victory in a tense, scrappy Old Firm derby game, was marred by the 67th minute dismissal of Mark Hateley, playing in his first match since his surprise return to the club from Queens Park Rangers on Friday.

Celtic also finished the match with 10 men when Malky Mackay was sent off in the 80th minute for hauling down Laudrup.

But Rangers, with six regular first team players missing through illness or injury, ended the afternoon on a high, moving eight points clear of Celtic with only six matches to play.

Johansson wins his first ATP Tour title

COPENHAGEN (Reuters) - Swedish fifth seed Thomas Johansson landed his first ATP Tour title when he beat second-seeded Czech Martin Damm in the Copenhagen Open final yesterday.

Johansson's speed and superb double-handed backhand proved more than a match for Damm, giving the Swedish player a 6-4, 3-6, 6-2 win.

Chang downs Muster; Davenport wins Evert Cup

INDIAN WELLS, Ca. (AP) - Defending champion Michael Chang overpowered Thomas Muster in the first set, then took control again in a second-set tiebreak to move into the final of the Newsweek Champions Cup.

Chang, who also won the tournament in 1992, beat Muster 6-1, 7-6(7-1) Saturday and was to face Bohdan Ulihrach in the final late last night. Czech Ulihrach downed Jonas Bjorkman 6-3, 6-2.

In the final of the \$1.25 million State Farm Evert Cup Lindsay Davenport cruised to a 6-2, 6-1 victory over Irina Spilrka.

Queensland to face WA in Sheffield Shield final

SYDNEY (Reuters) - Tasmania failed to reach their first Sheffield Shield final when they lost to Queensland yesterday.

Queensland secured a spot in the final against Western Australia at Tasmania's expense when they completed the formality of a victory over South Australia in Brisbane.

Queensland began the final day of the last round of matches locked on 22 points in the standings with New South Wales and needed just seven balls to complete a 137-run victory over last-placed South Australia at the Gabba.

Queensland, New South Wales and Tasmania all finished on 28 points but Queensland progressed to the final starting in Perth on Friday with a superior average of runs scored for and against during the season.

Chelsea crush struggling Sunderland 6-2

LONDON (Reuters) - Chelsea added to Sunderland's relegation worries in the English premier league with a thumping 6-2 victory at Stamford Bridge yesterday which featured two goals from Welsh striker Mark Hughes.

Italians Gianfranco Zola and Roberto di Matteo also hit the target as Chelsea, 2-0 ahead at half-time, lifted themselves to seventh in the table to keep alive their hopes of UEFA Cup qualification.

The home side had a brief moment of alarm in the second-half when Sunderland pulled back to 3-2 with

goals from Paul Stewart and Alex Rae, but a splendid individual effort from Hughes proved to be the first of three Chelsea goals in the last 12 minutes.

Substitute Gianluca Vialli, despite a suspicion of offside, provided Hughes with an easier chance to make it five and Di Matteo completed the scoring in the last minute to complete a miserable afternoon for French goalkeeper Lionel Perez.

It was Sunderland's sixth loss in their last seven matches and they remain only three points clear of the relegation zone with 7 games left.

Providence upsets Duke

CHARLOTTE, N.C. (AP) - Derrick Brown gave the Providence Friars a huge assist Sunday - with his most points ever.

The senior forward helped the Friars overcome foul trouble by Austin Croshere with a 33-point performance that sent Providence to a 98-87 victory over Duke in yesterday's second round of the NCAA tournament's Southeast Regional.

Tenth-seeded Providence (23-11) advanced to the round of 16 for the first time since the 1987 Friars made it to the Final Four.

Second-seeded Duke (24-9) was looking for a chance at its eighth Final Four berth in 17 years under coach Mike Krzyzewski. Instead, the Blue Devils failed to make the round of 16 for the fourth time in five years.

On Saturday, North Carolina beat Colorado 73-56 in the second round of the East Regional while top-ranked Kansas joined the Tar Heels in the final 16, defeating stubborn Purdue 75-61 in the Southeast Regional.

In other games Saturday, California beat Villanova 75-68 in the East, Iowa State defeated Cincinnati 67-66 and UCLA downed Xavier 96-83 in the Midwest, Arizona beat College of Charleston 73-69 in the Southeast, and St. Joseph's beat Boston College 81-77 in overtime and Kentucky defeated Iowa 75-69 in the West.

In regional semifinals next week, it will be North Carolina vs. California, Iowa State vs. UCLA, Kansas vs. Arizona, and Kentucky vs. St. Joseph's.

LATE RESULTS

East: Louisville 64, New Mexico 63
Southeast: Team - Chattanooga 75, Illinois 63
Midwest: Clemson 65, Tulsa 59
West: Utah 77, UNCC 58

East
California 75, Villanova 68
Tony Gonzalez, the tight end who doubles as a basketball player, scored a season-high 23 points, while Randy Duck added 16, including a pair of key 3-pointers that sparked Cal in the second half.

In a game that featured nine lead changes and six ties, Duck sank a pair of 3-pointers 1:04 apart, giving the Golden Bears (23-8) a 44-38 lead with 16:11 left. Cal never surrendered the lead after that.

Southeast
Kansas 75, Purdue 61
Paul Pierce scored 20 points and made big plays with the game in the balance as the top-seeded Jayhawks (34-1) advanced to the regional semifinals for the fifth straight year.

Rae LaPrentz had 18 points and 11 rebounds for Kansas, and Jacque Vaughn 12 points and nine assists. Chad Austin scored 17 for Purdue (18-12), but went 4-of-18 from the field.

Arizona 73, College of Charleston 69
Mike Bibby hit three free throws in the final 30 seconds as Arizona survived a scare from the College of Charleston.

The Wildcats (21-9) trailed by as many as 10

points during the first 15 minutes of the second half after missing nine of their first 11 shots against Charleston (29-3), which hadn't lost since Dec. 18.

Midwest
Iowa St. 67, Cincinnati 66
Dedric Willoughby and Kenny Pratt, who struggled in the first round, combined for 40 points as Iowa State beat Cincinnati.

Pratt led the Cyclones (22-8) with 21 points. Willoughby added 19.

Cincinnati (26-8), the third seed and the team many picked as the preseason favorite for the NCAA title, failed to make it out of the subregionals for the third time in four years.

UCLA 96, Xavier 83
Charles O'Bannon scored 28 points and UCLA used a 19-2 second-half run to beat Xavier.

J.R. Henderson had 22 points and nine rebounds for UCLA (23-7), which won its 11th straight and reached the third round for the second time in three years.

Darnell Williams led Xavier (23-6) with 16 points, and Torraye Braggs added 15 before fouling out with 3:25 remaining.

West
St. Joseph's 81, Boston College 77, OT
Rashid Bey scored 10 of St. Joseph's 12 points in overtime, and the Hawks set a tournament record for long-range shooting to win their 10th straight game.

Kentucky 75, Iowa 69
Sophomores Scott Padgett, Wayne Turner and Nazir Mohammed helped defending national champion Kentucky (32-4) beat Iowa.

Galil shocks Jerusalem

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

Hapoel Jerusalem coach Gadi Kedar's birthday party turned out to be a bust last night in Malha, as Hapoel Galil Elyon extended Jerusalem's European woes to league play with a surprising 78-66 victory.

Jerusalem continued having problems putting the ball in the basket, as they scored just 29 first-half points and trailed by nine at the half.

Elsewhere in the league, Hapoel Eilat drubbed Maccabi Ramat Gan 96-71, Maccabi Rishon LeZion beat Bnei Herzliya 81-71 and Hapoel Holon celebrated the return of coach Ralph Klein with an impressive 89-71 road win over Givat Shmuel.

Galil 78, Hap. J'lem 66

After his disappointing European Cup loss to Iraklis in Salonika last week, Hapoel Jerusalem (10-6) was looking to take out some of its frustration vs. coach David Blatt's northerners. Instead, Jerusalem and their fans suffered through another frustrating night, as only Billy Thompson (20 points) was anywhere near his usual self, and even loyal Jerusalem fans left early.

Galil Elyon (8-8), led by Jason Dixon (15) and Mark Carver (14) notched their first away victory, while Jerusalem saw their hold on second place undermined by the disappointing loss that does not bode well for Thursday night's State Cup semifinal game vs. Maccabi Ramat Gan.

Hap. Eilat 96, Mac. RG 71
Jerusalem's State Cup foes didn't have a very good night, either, coming up against a red hot Amir Katz, who had 10 three-point baskets on the night, seven in the first half, to account for almost all of his game-high 33 points.

Eilat (9-8) had an early 47-25 lead and was never threatened in a game marred by a fight which saw Larry Gordon of Ramat Gan (6-11) and Chris Shabat of Eilat thrown out.

Rishon 81, Bnei Herzliya 71

James Gully dominated play inside in the first half, scoring 18 of his 20 points, and Rishon held on to its early advantage to improve to 8-3, continuing its renaissance under new coach Hanoch Mintz. Ledell Eackles led Rishon with 25, while Doron Jancshi added 17. The loss for Herzliya (6-10) further diminished their chances in the league.

Hap. Holon 89, Givat Shmuel 71
"The Magician" Ralph Klein did it again, leading Holon (6-10) to victory thanks to the return to form of both Milton Wagner (26 points) and Derrick Hamilton (29). Credit also goes to Holon's Yosef Sofer, who held Givat Shmuel's Gerald Paddio to nine points. The loss for Givat Shmuel (7-10) was largely attributable to the absence of Dennis Hopson, who missed the game with an intestinal infection.

Tonight Maccabi Tel Aviv travels to Ussishkin to play Hapoel Tel Aviv. The game is to be broadcast live on Sports Channel.

Jordan scores season low 10 as Bulls beat Atlanta

CHICAGO (AP) - Despite a season-low 10 points from Michael Jordan, the Chicago Bulls beat the Atlanta Hawks 99-79 Saturday night.

Scottie Pippen scored 17 points for the Bulls, who rebounded from Friday's loss to New Jersey in which Jordan shot a last-second air ball.

Jordan, whose previous low this season was 13 against Toronto in December, was 5-of-11 from the field against Atlanta before sitting out the fourth quarter.

Dennis Rodman had 10 points and 14 rebounds for the Bulls before he was ejected late in the third quarter following a brief exchange under the basket with Dikembe Mutombo.

Saturday's Games: Golden State 106, Toronto 102; Charlotte 107, Philadelphia 99; Utah 100, Washington 95; Chicago 99, Atlanta 79; Denver 123, San Antonio 105; Phoenix 101, Dallas 76.

EASTERN CONFERENCE				
Atlantic Division	W	L	Pct	GB
Atlanta	47	17	.734	-
New York	47	17	.734	-
Orlando	35	29	.556	11.2
Washington	30	34	.469	17
New Jersey	18	44	.292	27.2
Philadelphia	17	47	.266	28
Boston	12	53	.185	35.2
Central Division	W	L	Pct	GB
Chicago	39	9	.813	-
Detroit	46	17	.767	9
Indiana	43	22	.662	13
Charlotte	34	28	.549	14
Cleveland	34	28	.549	21
Indiana	30	33	.476	26
Memphis	28	37	.432	29
Toronto	23	41	.359	32.2
WESTERN CONFERENCE	W	L	Pct	GB
Portland	48	17	.739	-
Utah	48	17	.739	-
Houston	43	21	.672	4.2
Minnesota	31	32	.492	16
Phoenix	21	42	.333	28
Denver	19	45	.297	29.8
San Antonio	16	48	.250	31.2
Vancouver	11	53	.167	37.2
Pacific Division	W	L	Pct	GB
Seattle	45	18	.714	-
L.A. Lakers	42	21	.672	1.2
Portland	37	26	.588	5.8
Sacramento	29	38	.435	17.2
L.A. Clippers	27	38	.412	19.2
Phoenix	26	39	.400	19.2
Golden State	25	38	.391	20.2
San Diego	25	38	.391	20.2

SCOREBOARD

NBA - Saturday's Games: Boston 81, New York 80; New Jersey 92, Philadelphia 77; Philadelphia 95, Washington 94; Charlotte 107, Vancouver 95; Tampa Bay 93, Orlando 82; Minnesota 95, Portland 94; Portland 94, Phoenix 88; Phoenix 88, San Antonio 76; San Antonio 76, Dallas 76.

CHUCKLE - In India, Ajay Singh, a West Indies' first innings score of 249, was 282-2 at tea on the third day of the second Test in Port of Spain, Trinidad yesterday.

Gillespie and Waugh turn Test for Australia

PORT ELIZABETH (Reuters) - Fine bowling by Jason Gillespie and solid batting from Mark Waugh brought Australia back from the prospect of defeat and left them close to victory in the second Test against South Africa yesterday.

First, Gillespie snappd up three quick wickets as South Africa collapsed in their second innings from their overnight 83 without loss to 168 all out.

Then, needing 270 to win and an unbeatable 2-0 lead in the three-Test series, Waugh stroked an accomplished 54 not out as Australia ended the third day on 145 for three, just 125 runs short of victory.

The Australian second innings began shakily as both openers, Mark Taylor and Matthew Hayden, were dismissed with only 30 on the board.

Taylor's run of bad form which has now seen him go 18 innings since his last Test-50, continued when he was trapped lbw for 13 by Brian McMillan.

Hayden, who made 14, was the victim of a farcical run out when both he and partner Matthew Elliott ended up sprinting for safety - to the same end - leaving bowler Hansie Cronje with the simple task of removing the balls.



OUT - Australia's Jason Gillespie appeals as South Africa's Jacques Kallis is run out in yesterday's play in the second Test in Port Elizabeth.

But that set up a spirited partnership of 83 between Elliott and Mark Waugh. Elliott was aggression personified as he struck eight boundaries in his 44 before pushing a full toss straight back to left-arm wrist-spinner Paul Adams just before the close.

Mark Waugh was then joined by his brother Steve and completed his 27th Test half century from 87 balls with eight boundaries and a straight driven six off Adams.

Earlier, Gillespie, who took five for 56 in the first innings, turned the match upside down with his three-wicket burst.

CLASSIFIEDS

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FOUR FRIDAYS (package) - NIS 526.50 for 10 words (minimum), each additional word - NIS 52.65
MONTHLY (24 insertions) - NIS 994.50 for 10 words (minimum), each additional word - NIS 99.45
New Rates are valid until March 31 1997.

DEADLINES OFFICE:
Jerusalem - weekdays: 12 noon the day before publication; for Friday 4 p.m. on Thursday.
Tel Aviv and Haifa - weekdays: 12 noon, 2 days before publication; for Friday and Sunday: 4 p.m. Thursday in Tel Aviv and 12 noon Thursday in Haifa.

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VEHICLES

UNRESTRICTED

PASSPORT

Just before Pessach

The Jerusalem Post

will publish special supplements,

devoted to

real estate and investments in Israel.

CRITIC'S CHOICE

CLASSICAL MUSIC

MICHAEL ATZENSTADT

The Israel Philharmonic Orchestra's associate conductor, Mendi Rodan, replaces Kurt Masur on the orchestra's podium to lead Beethoven's Second Symphony and Shostakovich's 13th Symphony, titled *Babi Yar*, which is based on a poem by Yevgeny Yevtushenko. The poet himself will also be on hand to recite his poem, and the soloist in the Shostakovich opus will be bass Anatoli Kotscherga. Tonight, Wednesday and Thursday at the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv; tomorrow, Saturday and Sunday at the Haifa Auditorium (8:30).

FILM

ADINA HOFFMAN

*** MARS ATTACKS! - Director Tim Burton's tongue-in-cheek tribute to sci-fi movies of the '50s has about it a darkly playful look and quick-skill sense of humor. The storyline - which charts the invasion of the earth by a fleet of Martian spaceships - is reminiscent of last year's *Independence Day*, but Burton's visual trickery is much quicker and more eccentric than anything the masterminds of *ID* ever dreamed up. Both in terms of spoken punchlines and traditional narrative, Jonathan Gem's script is a bit weak, although it helps to keep in mind that he and Burton drew their initial inspiration for the film from a rare set of Topps trading cards from the early '60s - in other words, from a series of bright, static pictures. The film makes less sense as a neatly ordered linear tale than it does as a group of wildly fanciful, less-than-sensical camp tableaux. (English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance suggested.)

*** THE PORTRAIT OF A LADY - If you survive the awful opening credits and confusing start of the story with your patience intact, you'll be treated to a genuine surprise: a dynamic screen version of the Henry James novel. Although it's difficult to account precisely for how a movie succeeds despite the crude political allegorizing and dumb public pronouncements of its director (Jane Campion has been quoted as saying that she aimed to rid James of his "long repetition and character analysis"), this one does. *The Portrait* emerges as a film of hushed intelligence, "fascinating texture and powerful feeling. In large part, the movie is saved by near-perfect casting and splendid work by the actors, who quietly smuggle all that dread character analysis into their performances. With Nicole Kidman, John Malkovich and Barbara Hershey, whose portrayal of the enigmatic



Nicole Kidman stars in Jane Campion's dynamic screen version of Henry James' 'The Portrait of a Lady.'

socialite, Madame Merle, is the most complex and richly Jamesian in the film. (English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Not recommended for children.)

*** 1/2 WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE'S ROMEO & JULIET - Purists may be put off by the zany pop art sparkle and flash of this movie, a tremendously energetic and calculated "low" modern-dress version of the tragedy. This will be their loss. By emphasizing the sexy, violent and even silly aspects of the classic, Australian director Baz Luhrmann makes the play fresh for adults and accessible to MTV-fed teenagers who may be encountering Shakespeare for the first time. What's more impressive still, he hasn't sacrificed much of the bard's language in the process. Starring a pouty Leonardo DiCaprio as Romeo and a poised Claire Danes as Juliet. (English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance strongly advised.)

TV

CHANNEL 1

8:30 News flash
8:31 News in Arabic
6:45 Exercise Time
7:00 Good Morning, Israel

EDUCATIONAL TV

8:00 Computers and the Internet
8:30 Spoken Arabic
9:00 Without Secrets
9:20 Nature
9:45 Programs for the very young
10:15 Science
10:40 English
11:10 Social Sciences
11:40 Tolerance
12:10 Science
12:30 History
13:00 In the Heat of the Night
14:00 Surprise Train
14:20 Kitty Cat and Friends
14:35 Babar
15:00 Ayelet's Kitchen
15:10 Without Secrets

MIDDLE EAST TV

7:00 TV Shop
14:30 The 700 Club
15:00 Gerber
15:25 Medgani's Million (1985) - an Iraqi US Treasury agent arrives in Italy to recover money stolen by a mafioso. With Dustin Hoffman. (85 mins.)
16:55 Family Challenge
17:40 Family Matters
18:05 Saved by the Bell
18:30 Larry King
19:30 World News Tonight (Arabic)
19:50 A New Evening
17:34 Zappy Books
18:15 News in English

CHANNEL 2

15:30 Motorcade from Mars
15:55 Booby
16:00 Dubliah
16:25 Byker Grove
16:45 Super Ben
16:55 Zap to Basel
17:30 A New Evening
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18:15 News in English

ARABIC PROGRAMS

18:30 Sport
19:00 News

HEBREW PROGRAMS

19:30 News flash
19:31 Video Clips
20:00 News
20:45 Popolika
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23:00 Mirrors - three generations: the grandmother made aliyah from the US, the mother from Israel, and the newly religious daughter lives in Bnei Brak.
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JORDAN TV

14:00 Holy Koran

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PRIME TIME TV

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18:30	News flash Video Clips				The Bottle	
20:00	News	News	Sunset Beach		Animanics	Dispatches: Kids on the Rocks
20:30	Popofica	It's Nothing		Quiet Victory	Married With Children Roseanne	Rolf's Indian Walkabout, part 2
21:00			Married With Children Shock Show		Sliders	
21:30		Dan Shilton	Seinfeld			
22:00	Kingdom of the Khaazars - Part one		Med and Stacey	The Traveler	In a Year with 13 Moons	The Death of Yugoslavia
22:30			Love Story			
23:00	Mirrors		Friends (rp4)			Dispatches (rp4)

NEWS

in brief

Hanegbi to be questioned again

Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi is expected to be summoned for the third time for questioning this week in the Bar-On for Hebron affair before police hand over all investigation material to the State Attorney's Office. He is suspected of giving the Knesset misleading information on his consultations with Supreme Court justices before Bar-On's appointment as attorney-general. The police team investigating the case is still trying to establish if Hanegbi also made false declarations to the Knesset. The team is expected to present its findings to State Attorney Edna Arbel this week, and sources said that there will probably be at least two recommendations to indict - against Hanegbi and MK Aryeh Deri. *Raine Marcus*

Police commander testifies against Ne'eman

Dep.-Cmdr. Ya'acov Grossman yesterday testified for the prosecution against former justice minister Ya'acov Ne'eman in Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court. Ne'eman is charged with obstructing justice and giving false evidence to police in connection with the investigation of the fraud charges for which Shas leader Aryeh Deri is on trial. Ne'eman resigned his ministerial post last August when a petition to the High Court of Justice against his appointment led to a police inquiry. *Raine Marcus*

Police: Indict Lieberman aide

Police have recommended to the State Attorney's Office that Yaron Zalika, an aide to Prime Minister's Office director-general Avigdor Lieberman, be charged with fraud, breach of trust, and misuse of office, in connection with controversial summaries relating to the Israel Broadcasting Authority. The summaries of government reports on the IBA were submitted to the cabinet and were the basis for a cabinet discussion of the IBA's future. These summaries portrayed the IBA and its director-general, Mordechai Kirschenbaum, in a more negative light than the original documents. *Itim*

Man charged with attempted murder

Nuriel Fingel, 48, of Ramle, who allegedly struck his wife Ruth with an ax in the head, face, arms and legs, was charged with attempted murder in Tel Aviv District Court yesterday. Fingel had previously threatened, in front of a social worker, to kill his wife, her mother and himself, the indictment said. *Itim*

Teenager needs marrow donor

Magen David Adom will hold an emergency blood testing campaign on Wednesday to find a potential bone-marrow donor for Moshe Sehayeck, 15, a pupil at Midrashiyat Noam in Pardes Hanna who suffers from leukemia. Blood samples will be taken in Jerusalem, the Galilee, the Negev, the Sharon region, Judea and Samaria, and the Dan region. Healthy volunteers aged 17 1/2 to 55 are asked to undergo a test; their tissue type will be listed in the National Bone Marrow Registry to help others needing a donation as well. More information will be available on Wednesday at 050-642-594 or 06-637-7213. *Judy Siegel*

Winning cards

The winning cards in yesterday's Mifal Hapayis daily Chance drawing were the seven of spades, nine of hearts, ace of diamonds, and 10 of clubs.



In memoriam

Soldiers attend yesterday's national memorial ceremony in honor of fallen soldiers whose bodies have not been recovered. At the Mt. Herzl ceremony, both Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai told the bereaved families they are making every effort to locate the bodies of the 446 missing soldiers. (Flash 90)

Dotan release furor

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

It appears that the only way to prevent the release of Rami Dotan, the former chief IAF procurement officer jailed for embezzling millions of dollars from US military contracts, would be via an injunction from the High Court of Justice. The impending release is likely to raise eyebrows in Washington during Mordechai's visit there next week, given that most of the money Dotan stole was from the General Electric Corp. Mordechai hopes to win a US commitment to participate in the production of the Arrow anti-missile missile. Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai was reportedly furious when he learned of a military parole committee's decision to release Dotan, and ordered the ministry's legal adviser Zvia Gross and IDF Judge Advocate-General Brig.-Gen. Uri Shoham, to check whether it could be reversed. But Defense Ministry sources said both Gross and Shoham had ruled that the committee's decision was final, and there was nothing the military establishment could do to prevent Dotan's release on April 21. The news of Dotan's planned release next

month, after having served just half of his 13-year sentence, has generated a host of opposition from both civilian and defense officials. His release was decided upon because of his poor health. Dotan has high blood pressure and reportedly suffered two minor strokes in prison. The Movement for Quality Government said it is drawing up a petition to the High Court of Justice to prevent Dotan's release. "You can't release this kind of man because he has high blood pressure," said the movement's attorney, Eliad Shraga. Labor MK Yona Yahav said he had begun signing MKs on a petition to the president and defense minister, asking that they use any authority they might have to prevent the release. Yisrael Ba'Aliya MK Roman Bronfman yesterday submitted a private member's bill that would forbid the IDF's parole committee to release any prisoner who had been sentenced by a military court to eight years' or more imprisonment. The military committee, in addition to citing

Dotan's poor health, accepted the opinion of IDF field security officers that his release would not harm state security if he promised not to reveal any classified information he remembered and he be forbidden to travel abroad. The Movement for Quality Government said it is drawing up a petition to the High Court of Justice to prevent Dotan's release. "You can't release this kind of man because he has high blood pressure," said the movement's attorney, Eliad Shraga. Labor MK Yona Yahav said he had begun signing MKs on a petition to the president and defense minister, asking that they use any authority they might have to prevent the release. Yisrael Ba'Aliya MK Roman Bronfman yesterday submitted a private member's bill that would forbid the IDF's parole committee to release any prisoner who had been sentenced by a military court to eight years' or more imprisonment.

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Location	Temp	Conditions
Golan	3-6	
Haifa	8-14	
Tiberias	8-14	
Afula	7-13	
Samarita	5-8	
Tel Aviv	6-11	
Jerusalem	4-7	
Beer Sheva	7-15	
Dead Sea	11-19	
Eilat	10-20	

Forecast: Rainy, snow in the Hermon.

AROUND THE WORLD

Location	Low	High	Conditions
Amsterdam	08	43	cloudy
Barcelon	11	54	cloudy
Buenos Aires	17	63	cloudy
Calcutta	11	58	cloudy
Chicago	12	40	cloudy
Copenhagen	02	28	cloudy
Helsinki	06	43	cloudy
London	07	19	cloudy
Los Angeles	14	57	clear
Moscow	04	37	cloudy
New York	03	27	cloudy
Paris	09	46	cloudy
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Sydney	19	78	cloudy
Toronto	14	07	cloudy
Vienna	06	44	cloudy
Zurich	05	41	cloudy

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BOX OFFICES: TEL-AVIV, Suzanne Dellal Center: 03-5105656, Roko: 03-5276699, Hadar: 03-5279797, Rastel: 03-6034725, Leon: 03-5247373. HAZARON: 03-5400512. JERUSALEM, Jerusalem Theatre: 02-5610011, Ramot: 02-6334061, Ramot: 02-6250869, Be'er Sheva, Kinneret: 06-6751175. Kfar Saba: 04-7649230. REHOVOT: 08-943207, 08-9467890. HAIFA: Garber 04-8384777, 8292432. BE'ER-SHEVA: Ben-Gurion University, 07-6472340.

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Hanegbi blasted for Arafat threats

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi was roundly blasted yesterday by opposition leaders and cabinet ministers alike for his threats against Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat. Coalition sources said Hanegbi's belligerence is causing damage to the government's efforts to solve the crisis with the Palestinians, while Labor leaders called for his resignation. On Saturday night Hanegbi told Likud activists in Or Yehuda that "if

Arafat exerts force against us, it will be the end of the peace process. Our reaction will reach Arafat himself. Arafat will not be able to continue living peacefully in a villa on the coast with his wife Suha. If it's war, then it's all the way." Hanegbi threatened Arafat, saying he would be forced out of Gaza and return to his wandering "between Tunis and Baghdad" with a suitcase, if violence breaks out. "No one who wants to finish us is immune, neither 'the Engineer' [Yihye Ayyash] nor anyone in any

villa," he said, referring to the Hamas bomb-maker killed last year. Foreign Minister David Levy expressed regret at Hanegbi's utterance and accused him of aggravating the tension by "adding fuel to the fire."

Labor leaders reacted sharply to Hanegbi's statements, calling for his immediate resignation.

Jon Immanuel adds: Hanegbi's Palestinian counterpart, Freih Abu Meddein, said Hanegbi "drank in terrorism with his mother's [right-wing politician Geula Cohen] milk."

Ahmed Abdel-Rahman, PA cabinet secretary, asked, "What is the difference between Hanegbi and Baruch Goldstein? He killed our dignity, he humiliated us today and you know how important dignity is to an Arab. He slapped the face of the Palestinian people."

Reform threatens Israel fund boycott

By HAIM SHAPIRO

If IDF soldiers can't visit Reform synagogues on educational field trips, while being allowed to visit yeshivot where they are exhorted to be religiously observant, the Reform Movement will boycott all Israeli speakers and fund-raisers abroad, an official of Israel's Reform Movement warned yesterday.

Anat Galil, spokesperson for the Reform Movement's Israel Religious Action Center, responded to an item in *Yated Ne'eman*, the hardi daily, which said henceforth official IDF field trips would not take soldiers to visit mosques, churches, or "Reform temples."

The paper said soldiers' visits to mosques, churches, and Reform institutions were stopped following a parliamentary question by MK Moshe Gafni (United Torah Judaism) to the defense minister.

Gafni said some soldiers are unwilling to enter such places.

The paper said Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak ordered that visits to these institutions be stopped, after Gafni's question.

Galil said the Reform Movement could live with a decision which would exclude visits to Reform institutions, if the order also applied to yeshivot that try to convince people to become observant. If some soldiers object to visiting Reform institutions, others object to visiting yeshivot, she said.

If the ban is not a general one, she said, official Israeli representatives and fund-raisers would be banned from all Reform congregations abroad. The ban, she added, could well extend to the activities of Jewish federations, since in many of these organizations Reform Jews play a leading role.

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